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Latin America Report



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BRIEFS

OIL WELL DRILLING IN 1983--Mexico City, 1 Jan (NOTIMEX)--It was revealed by the Pemex Agency for Oilfields Development that state-owned Mexican Petroleum [Pemex] drilled 309 wells in 1983 with a total of 1,008,641 meters drilled. The agency indicated that for 1984, the office in charge of drilling has made it a goal to drill 258 wells, of which 74 will be exploratory and 184 will be for development; of these, 74 will be in lakes, 47 will be marine wells, and the rest will be land-based wells. Fifty-seven exploratory wells were finished as well as 252 wells for development. In the secondary extraction projects, Mexico has 22 systems of water injection for fields in operation, with a volume of 125 million barrels of water injected through each. Pemex said that this system of water injection will soon be used at the main production camps in the area of Campeche as well as in the fields of Cantareli, Abkatun, and Polyue. It was also revealed that in 1983, 658 wells were reinstated, which fulfilled the hydrocarbon production plan. [Text] [FL021800 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1905 GMT 1 Jan 84]

CSO: 3248/312

BOLIVIA, CHILE MOVE CLOSER TO DIALOGUE ON SEA OUTLET ISSUE

Colombian Mediation Efforts

La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 29 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Colombia is holding consultations with the governments of La Paz and Santiago to encourage them to accelerate compliance with the most recent resolution of the Organization of American States (OAS) on the normalization of their relations and maritime negotiations, and to accept the "fraternal invitation" extended by President Belisario Betancur to meet in Bogota and deal with the two matters as soon as possible.

Actually, talks have been going on among the foreign ministries of the Bogota, La Paz and Santiago governments continuously since November, when the member states of the OAS "unanimously" exhorted Bolivia and Chile to bury the hatchet, while Betancur invited the two countries to meet at his government headquarters.

According to the plan, President Betancur will host the two countries' foreign ministers at the Presidential Mansion so that they can negotiate the century-old problem of the geographic confinement, and the renewal of relations.

In a letter from Colombian Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo to his counterparts, Jose Ortiz Mercado and Jaime del Valle, he reiterated the invitation to meet, and explained that his government will not serve as an arbitrator but rather as the sponsor of a rapprochement which could result in "conclusions of mutual benefit."

According to the OAS resolution, "in the name of American fraternity," Bolivia and Chile should begin "a process of rapprochement and strengthening of friendship between the Bolivian and Chilean peoples, oriented toward the normalization of their relations so that they can overcome the difficulties that divide them, with particular attention to a formula to enable Bolivia to have sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean on terms which mutually benefit the parties involved and serve their rights and interests."

High government officials revealed yesterday that the Colombian plan envisions "an initial, formal meeting between Bolivia and Chile in January. It will be

just the first step toward defining an agenda which should implement the OAS resolution."

They added that in La Paz and Santiago, the foreign ministries are preparing the proposals they will bring to that meeting, and that "they were previewed during an informal meeting in Washington" during the 13th Assembly of the Organization of American States.

Colombia was then informed of the disagreements that exist between the two countries: Bolivia feels that first Chile should formally agree to meet the maritime demand, "in view of frustrated efforts in the past," while Chile contends that the first step should be to normalize diplomatic relations.

The Colombian government pointed out to both countries in high-level talks that their viewpoints are worthy of respect, "but the important thing at this time is a fraternal dialogue. At the negotiating table the two countries can reach mutually beneficial agreements."

Bolivia's Advantage

According to preliminary analyses of the new maritime negotiations, Bolivia would have an advantage over Chile for several reasons:

--Colombia's sponsorship, while falling short of arbitration, "is important because President Belisario Betancur indicated that he will keep focusing on that issue from beginning to end."

--The new Bolivian-Chilean rapprochement is under the auspices of the Organization of American States, and since all its member states have been kept informed over the past 4 years of the history of Bolivia's land-locked status, "they were party to the historical and juridical explanations of Bolivia's right to have sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean, and they supported a peaceful solution."

--The problem of geographic confinement received support from the Non-Aligned Nations, the United Nations, and other international organizations.

--Bolivia has attained a certain international prestige in the past year because it adheres to the rule of law and democracy.

Reports

Diplomatic representatives accredited in La Paz and other Latin American capitals, in their end-of-year reports to their governments, have summed up these viewpoints, especially for the industrialized nations of Europe, Asia and North America.

These reports indicate that among the problems of the region, "one of the most important ones is the solution of the conflict between Bolivia and Chile."

Colombia Clarifies Proposal

La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 17 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Mario Ojara Agreda]

[Text] The recent statements made in Lima by Colombian President Belisario Betancur (PRESENCIA, 12/13/83, p 1) clearly indicate that "the only thing Colombia will do is lend technical assistance; Bolivia and Chile themselves will sit at a table to seek the parameters of the solution to the problem. . . These nations themselves must seek their own points of agreement."

Since certain aspects of the Colombian proposal have been a bit confusing so far, the aforementioned timely statements clarified the following points:

1) Colombia has simply offered the city of Bogota as the site of a meeting between the Bolivian and Chilean foreign ministers; and 2) the only thing it will do during the meeting is lend technical assistance.

We stated that the statement made in Lima was timely because it rules out the possibility that the Colombian Government will try to implement diplomatic procedures to lead the parties to areas of understanding.

The impression was that Betancur's proposal fit at least within the mechanisms of good offices, since with Bolivian-Chilean relations cut off and no negotiations taking place at the OAS, it was necessary for a third nation to step in to bring the parties together and attempt through friendly intervention to forge a quick solution to the problem.

The notion of mediation by the Colombian Government is to be discounted above all, and in any case, such mediation would be binding on the parties, not optional. Mediation is a procedure used to resolve controversies in which one of the parties demands the modification of a given situation which it considered unjust, such as the case of Bolivia's geographical confinement. The procedure is effective to the extent that the mediator makes an effort to solve the conflict.

Since Colombia will not make use of any of the aforementioned resources, it is clear that the meeting in Bogota could provide Chile an escape from hemispheric competition, and an opportunity to elude the enforcement of the resolutions approved by the OAS on Bolivia's maritime problem.

The regional organization obviously has a lot of weaknesses and shortcomings, because it is based on the archaic idea that the geographic factor creates solidarity. This concept has been disproven by the reality of the contemporary world, where international cohesion is a consequence of ideological affinity, common interests and collective defense against subjugation by imperialist policies. The Organization of American States has limitations because it does not have supranational power, an attribute which only the United Nations Security Council has been given to date, and only in the case of armed aggression.

In the OAS, weak third world countries coexist with the great superpower in a depressing relationship of dependence.

But that heterogeneous environment, which does not embody Bolivar's philosophy of 1826 but rather James Blaine's pragmatism of 1889, has been established to promote cooperation and respect for the sovereignty and independence of states, and to provide a peaceful solution to conflicts. Thus, this is not the time to breach solidarity, since that is also the way to bring the matter to the United Nations, which will undoubtedly be necessary eventually in this conflict.

Colombia's point of view, which is that "the nations themselves must seek their own points of agreement," is a formula more appropriately applied to the case of Central America, where the efforts of the Contadora Group to seek solutions that satisfy the peoples of that region are to be commended. Everyone in the region agrees that the principles of self-determination and non-intervention should be observed. But in Bolivia's maritime problem, what lies in between is a historical reparation and Chile's adherence to the political will of the nations of this continent.

The Colombian initiative interprets the ideals of the Liberator, Simon Bolivar, who assigned to Bolivia an important geopolitical role in the South Pacific. But it is necessary to proceed with caution with this interlocutor, so the dialogue in Bogota, as we said in an earlier article, should have a preliminary phase, developed on a technical level, to enable the parties to explore the nations' positions. Then the highly publicized meeting of foreign ministers should take place after areas of understanding have been established to justify the rapprochement between the governments, since in the final analysis that rapprochement means the renewal of diplomatic ties with Chile.

Ortiz Mercado on Talks

La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 28 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] Foreign Minister Jose Ortiz Mercado said yesterday that direct talks with Chile will fit within the policy defined by the government on the maritime problem, as long as that country shows a willingness to deal with the geographic confinement issue. That objective was facilitated by the latest resolution of the Organization of American States (OAS), which exhorts the parties to come together; meanwhile, Colombia offered to facilitate the dialogue.

"Bolivia is interested in a dialogue with Chile," said Ortiz Mercado in answer to questions from the press. He denied, however, that he had told a Chilean newspaper that the dialogue must be unconditional.

"What the headline (of the publication) says and what the statement says are different. In other words, there are two things to judge here: Either the journalist from ULTIMAS NOTICIAS of Chile has a certain intention, or, on the other hand, the headline was tampered with slightly," he said. He explained that when he was interviewed, he answered the following:

"We are going by what the OAS resolution says; that is, it is an exhortation by the countries of Latin America, passed by acclamation, to undertake a preliminary rapprochement with a view to normalizing relations, seeking a formula to solve the problem of sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean. Obviously, Bolivia is interested in talking with Chile on that premise. We will make possible that dialogue in Bogota."

Colombia

Ortiz Mercado also responded to a letter that was sent just before Christmas by his Colombian counterpart, Rodrigo Lloreda Caicedo, confirming his government's invitation to Chile and Bolivia to meet in Bogota. He said that evidently the Colombian Government, in this case, is acting just as a "host" and not as an arbitrator.

He explained that arbitration of the problem between Bolivia and Chile could only take place at the level of the International Court in The Hague. "What we need to look for here are peaceful terms, a diplomatic formula" that will provide a solution to Bolivia's geographic confinement.

The foreign minister refused to go into more detail on what Bolivia would take to Bogota, because "no one says ahead of time what he will say in diplomatic negotiations."

Ambassadors

Finally, in response to questions from reporters, the foreign minister said that the problem of naming the ambassadors is due to a lack of money in the budget.

"We are looking for names, but we also have financial problems," he said when asked about the observations some European nations had made regarding the lack of Bolivian diplomatic representatives.

Historical Perspective

Santiago TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 28 Nov 83 p 2

[Commentary by Oscar Pinochet de la Barra]

[Text] During the recent OAS Assembly, the governments of Chile and Bolivia committed themselves to negotiating sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean for that altiplano country. This time Chile could not stand up to pressure from its fellow American nations.

There is no room for either exaggerated optimism or obstructionist pessimism in this regard. Traditionally, this issue has been the most important one in the history of Chilean-Bolivian relations.

On 27 January 1826, Marshal Jose Antonio de Sucre wrote to Bolivar: "Arica is a port that functions solely as an access route to Bolivia." But a month earlier, on 28 December 1825, Bolivar had already decided that the maritime

port of the former District of Charcas would be Cobija. At that, he did not forget the possibility of also having Arica, which nevertheless was rejected by Andres Santa Cruz, the Bolivian-born president of Peru (November 1826). Thus, Arica was not transferred to Bolivia a century and a half ago.

Of course, during those years the imprecision of borderlines did not bother anyone.

Eight years after Cobija was declared the principal port of Bolivia, on 18 October 1833, La Paz and Santiago signed a treaty of "Friendship, Trade and Navigation" which stated: "Bolivian or Chilean ships shall be permitted to enter all the ports, rivers and other places in the territory of the other (party). . ."

The two countries both coveted the entire Atacama desert, and Chile, through its Finance Minister Manuel Rengifo, established Mejillones, latitude 23 degrees 6 minutes, by means of the so-called "guano law," as our northernmost outpost. From there to the Loa River, some 170 kilometers, we implicitly recognized Bolivia's maritime sovereignty, as did O'Higgins in 1831.

Through treaties in 1866 and 1874, Chile would translate that tacit recognition into explicit acknowledgement, and would extend Bolivia's coast to a total of approximately 300 kilometers, at the 24th parallel. The Bolivian flag was to wave over four ports: Cobija, Tocopilla, Mejillones and Antofagasta.

Although the War of the Pacific, the Truce Treaty of 1884 and the Peace Treaty of 1904 would make Bolivia a land-locked country, Chileans' memories should be refreshed, because that is the only way they will understand the tenacity with which the Bolivians have been demanding that we give it sovereign access to the sea for nearly a century. Chilean policy, with a few exceptions, has been to agree to negotiations on the matter, without practical results. That is why only a limited optimism is called for.

The last of these negotiations was cut off abruptly in November 1976. On the 18th of that month, the Peruvian Government, answering our inquiry about the proposal to cede Bolivia a corridor of some 3,000 square kilometers along the Concord Line (the Chilean-Peruvian border), gave a qualified approval that was not acceptable to Chile.

What was the Peruvian counter-proposal?

It argued that it did not want the "interposition" of Bolivian territory between Tacna and Arica, and to avoid that it was proposing that the 66 square kilometers of coastline between the Concord Line and the northern border of the city of Arica, to the west of the Pan American Highway, cease to be exclusively Chilean and become an "area of shared sovereignty." It also asked for a trinational authority for the port of Arica, which would continue to be Chilean.

The Arica region is still, as it has traditionally been, of tremendous interest to the three countries whose borders converge there. Manuel Barros Borgoño,

the illustrious Chilean, defined this very well in 1895 when he said that the region was destined to play "a role of security and future tranquility for Chile; a role of conservation and life for Bolivia; and a role of equilibrium and peace for the rest of the nations. . ."

We should bear in mind these wise words now that a new stage of negotiations is beginning.

Previous Negotiations Explained

Santiago TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 5 Dec 83 p 2

[Commentary by Oscar Pinochet de la Barra]

[Text] Why did the last negotiations fail in 1976?

An objective view is that they were poorly managed by the three countries involved: 1) Chile created a problem for Bolivia by insisting that it pay territorial compensation, which had not happened on previous occasions. At the same time, we acted precipitously in rejecting the conditional yes from Peru, which aroused suspicion. 2) Bolivia broke off diplomatic relations with Chile in an emotional decision, creating problems that have taken 7 years to resolve. 3) Peru, aware of its decisive role in the arrangement, offered a complicated solution that gave the impression that it was trying to use the situation to its own advantage.

If we want to be successful this time, we will have to make use of the rich experience we have gained, which can be summed up as follows:

1. Although the fundamental agreement will be between Chile and Bolivia, it would be unrealistic to conclude any agreement without keeping Peru informed of the talks as they progress, making ample use of the "prior agreement" set forth in the protocol of 1929. If Chile insists on simply demanding, a posteriori, a "yes" or "no" from Lima, the negotiations can be expected to fail.
2. Chile should not continue to insist that Bolivia pay the ill-fated territorial compensation; it should return to its traditional position of "non-territorial" compensation.
3. Bolivia should understand that a non-territorial compensation that benefits all three countries, preferably (petroleum, refineries, gas pipeline, irrigation water, development poles, etc.), will not only have a favorable reception in public opinion, but will also create a stable associative system that is more significant than the current trilateral division, which will soon be unnecessarily competitive.

Bolivia's position regarding a useful port can be dealt with. If that port cannot be part of Arica, the agreement will have to include a clause about international aid for the construction of a Bolivian port.

Peru's concern about the future interposition of Bolivian territory between Tacna and Arica can also be dealt with. Let us recall that the treaty of 1929, on that latter point, gave the Peruvians "the most extensive free port," and from there to the border "the most absolute free transit" (protocol of 1929).

Let us sum up: It is absolutely essential that the negotiations take up where they left off, that is, with Peru's acceptance of that part of the corridor already offered by Chile and deemed satisfactory to Bolivia, between the Bolivian border and the Pan American Highway. The beach, or "area of shared sovereignty" from the northern limits of the city of Arica, is "negotiable," according to a statement by the Peruvian foreign minister afterwards. Tacna and Arica should maintain a nexus of physical union to comply with the protocol of 1929: "the most absolute free transit," without Bolivian barriers caused by the corridor.

Instead of "shared sovereignty," easy to agree to but difficult to make work without interferences and disagreements, could be thought of as "overlapping sovereignty," which would avoid the "interposition" or cutting off of the Arica-Tacna route by the corridor. How? We have already explained before: by building a broad elevated roadway on Peruvian territory, which would cross the 8 kilometers of the corridor without cutting it off, except for the small easement required by the columns or pilasters that would be sunk into Bolivian soil. Thus, while Bolivia would have its sovereign outlet to the sea, Peru would maintain the direct contact it has today between Arica and Tacna, with one advantage: 8 kilometers of that contact route would not be in Chilean territory under Peruvian easement, but directly in Peruvian territory, superimposed on Bolivian territory.

Only if the three parties are really interested in resolving the maritime problem will the difficult but far-reaching agreement be achieved. All America has demanded that such an agreement be concluded successfully, and it is watching the proceedings with interest.

8926

CSO: 3348/176

RICARDO LAGOS ON DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE, POPULAR UNITY ERA

Santiago ERCILLA in Spanish 14 Dec 83 pp 12-13

[Interview with Democratic Alliance Socialist president Ricardo Lagos by Andres Orzegow; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] After the demonstration against the mining law at the Caupolican auditorium, during which the DC [Christian Democratic] and Communist youth came to blows in a discussion, Clotario Blest concluded that "they all want to be leaders," and asked: "Are we going to return to the times of Popular Unity?" I ask you the same thing.

(The question seems to displease him. He fixes his gaze severely, and after a long pause replies.)

[Answer] I would like very much to return to the times of Popular Unity, because it would mean that in this country there would be freedom of the press, there would be television channels in the service of all Chileans, there would be a Congress, there would be trade unions, there would be elections, there would be forums; and we could all speak without being afraid of going to jail. These past 10 years have been a traumatic accident for Chile. So, if you put it to me in those terms, I shall respond to you in terms of what the historical Chile of 160 years has been.

[Question] Now, with regard to Marxism...and you are going to be annoyed again...

(He interrupts before the question is asked.)

[Answer] Do you know what annoys me? Not that you are asking me a question. It annoys me because I see in that type of question what this Chile has been like for 10 years. We have not been used to discussing on a minimal level; we are used to the caricature, the Manichaeian view that one sector has projected upon the other for 10 years.

[Question] But you have just depicted Popular Unity very beautifully, while in a recent interview you admitted political and economic mistakes.

[Answer] I have not depicted it so beautifully. You asked me a question: "Would you like Popular Unity to return?" And that implied something, didn't

it? If you had said to me: "What is your critical opinion of Popular Unity?" I would have answered: first, I participated in that regime; second, I believe that Salvador Allende will have the largest of statues in this country; and third, that does not mean that no mistakes were made.

The first mistake: trying to make such deepseated changes without having first gained the majority. Second mistake: there was sectarianism. To be sure, what sectarianism (and note this) had no resemblance to that of the present; because we did not oust anyone for thinking differently from us in public administration, among other things, because the comptroller's office prohibited it. But that is not the point: This conversation is very difficult in this present-day Chile, because during the past 10 years only one view of Popular Unity has been conveyed. Or are you telling me that this is not so?

He is impassioned, unquestionably. A former official of the last regime (in charge of international economic negotiations with the UN, secretary general of FLACSO [Latin American School of Social Sciences], and almost ambassador to Moscow), Ricardo Lagos (45 years of age) is the new president of the Democratic Alliance for the month of December.

A Socialist because (he claims) "it is the only way of reaching equality," he is a lawyer, with a doctorate in economics from Duke University, and a full professor and board member of the University of Chile for many years. At present, to assume his political post, he has left his position in the regional employment program for Latin America and the Caribbean, run by the UN. He has just set himself up in his new office on Huerfanos Street; and one notes only desks, chairs and bare walls. In his office, a single decoration awaits hanging: a photo-poster in which he appears with Salvador Allende.

We resume the question which might annoy him for the second time, in addition to the one about Clotario Blest. Now he is not upset.

'If Not, There Will Be No Citizens'

[Question] At the present time you are in the political arena, whether through the Democratic Alliance (AD), the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), etc. What will you gain thereby if, at best, in the future, you will remain outside the democratic system?

[Answer] I believe that the proscriptions will have to be resolved by a constituent assembly. The left (as I told one of your colleagues) is part of the landscape of this country, and we shall continue, just like the mountain range. We Socialists have never committed a punishable act as such. Those who I do believe will be proscribed are the ones who have committed antidemocratic acts during these past 10 years.

Personally, I am in favor of applying the same concept as in the German constitution: Those who collaborated with the Nazis are tried by a special independent court, and they must explain why they committed the antidemocratic acts

that they did commit. If they explain them satisfactorily, they are entitled to be citizens. If not, they will not be citizens.

[Question] You have mentioned the constituent assembly. That is precisely one of the three main goals that the Alliance wants to attain, in addition to the president's resignation and the establishment of a provisional government. Why do you insist on that when it is like tilting at windmills; because the government will not agree to it? Or do you intend to accomplish it by force?

[Answer] Would that it were tilting at windmills, because Don Quixote's windmills didn't exist, and I see the military regime existing. I believe that we are in the worst crisis that Chile has had in 160 years: economic, moral and political. As for the economic crisis, why discuss it? No Latin American country has declined 14 percent, as was the case in 1982; and no country in the world has repeated it in 1983 as we have. And, of course, no country has 35 percent unemployment. The industry here has been destroyed. Under Popular Unity there was a great deal of industrial disorder, but all the industries existed, and were returned to their owners.

[Question] I was not asking you about the economic situation.

[Answer] Just a moment. I was moving from this economic crisis to the moral crisis: people tortured, exiled, missing, oppressed. So, in view of this, what the government must do is leave, as in Argentina.

[Question] That is not what the government will do.

[Answer] Then I would say that the government will be the one responsible for the violence that will be unleashed. And I want the military force, if it is really concerned about national security, to be occupied defending Chile; because if not, it will have to remove not 18,000 men, as on the other occasion, but the entire army. And with all that it will not solve the social crisis.

[Question] And who will create that violence?

[Answer] The government creates the violence, lady. When you earn 2,000 pesos, you have to protest in order to eat. Don't repeat nonsense and truisms to me! If you wish, we shall converse on a higher level, but if you repeat those things to me, I am annoyed. Do you understand?

The Degree of Consensus

[Question] Moving to a different subject, it has been claimed that this business of the open town councils is nothing but a front for AD to be able to act with MDP [Popular Democratic Movement]. What do you say to that?

[Answer] The people of Chile will participate in those town councils. And there are Communists in existence among those people. And I see no reason for them to be excluded from participating and saying what they think.

[Question] But if that is your opinion, why not fight to let the Communists join AD and thus act with them directly, and not in a parallel fashion?

[Answer] That is the position that we Socialists have upheld: In our view, the most important thing is the end of the military regime; and to restore democracy, it seems to us to be necessary for all the parties to participate in AD. But other parties do not share this view, and we are willing to accept those objections.

[Question] And how would the power be generated among the rank and file, in the town councils?

[Answer] The idea is that the people, in each town, locality or district, could voice their needs. I am sure that the number one issue will be employment-unemployment. In addition, town councils must have a permanent nature, and the experiences of each one should be compared.

[Question] A kind of parallel government?

[Answer] It would be presumptuous of us to define what the town councils are intended to be.

[Question] But some limit will have to be imposed on them, because I imagine AD will have a clear notion of how far they should go.

[Answer] The town councils or AD?

[Question] AD.

[Answer] AD has a clear notion of how far it can go: to the end of the military regime.

[Question] I am talking to you about AD with respect to the town councils.

[Answer] AD has a very clear notion regarding the town councils: It is providing a channel for expression to the people, and it expects the latter to express themselves.

[Question] With regard to the permits for making the town councils and holding gatherings, you said that if there were problems in that area you would seek different mechanism for pressure. Which ones?

At this point, Ricardo Lagos thinks and has recourse to the history of Chile, recalling the general strike of 1931.

[Question] What you say agrees precisely with what has again been described as a "front" with reference to the Caupolicán demonstration, but this time in connection with calling a strike.

[Answer] I was making historical reminiscences.

[Question] Yes, but with projections into the present time; in other words, a parallelism.

[Answer] All right; some time ago I also made a parallelism in an article that I published on the economic crisis of 1930, and I also ended up making historical reminiscences of what General Ibanez told the country in 1931. What I cannot see is where the front is.

[Question] It has been claimed that this act of holding a protest against the mining law was nothing but a front so as soon to call a major national strike.

[Answer] Ah, I understand you! No, no, no. I think that you are misusing the term "front." A front is a wall that conceals what is inside.

[Question] I am referring to that.

[Answer] But do you think that we need to conceal the tragedy of Chile? When Chile is experiencing it! Do you think that we need to hide the matter of the mining law? There is no need for a front here; all of Chile can see it! Those who are calling for a national strike are the ones who are making this economic policy. It is not Ricardo Lagos! "But since you are a Marxist, you must believe in 'bang, bang and chains.'" That is the Manichaeian concept that has been bandied about for 10 years...

[Question] Now, at the Caupolican demonstration it was noted that there was a marked division among the opposition itself. If you are not agreed on being opposed, how will you be united to form a government in a hypothetical future?

[Answer] The answer is very simple. None of the parties in the Alliance has ceased to be what it is. Each one of us wants to have his own utopia. But when countries have destruction as great as that in Chile, people unite together to undertake the great march. Europe became united. De Gaulle, the archetype of French conservatism, called the PC [Communist Party] to his ministry to construct France's greatness. The utopias came later! And Giscard arrived with a more right wing plan, and Mitterrand came with a more Socialist plan... I would emphasize to you, were they divided at Caupolican over the mining law? They were not, isn't that so?

[Question] No. They were attacking each other mutually apart from the mining law.

[Answer] But, lady, those are reflections of each one of the utopias; however, with respect to the points for reconstructing the country, the degree of consensus is very high.

2909

CSO: 3348/175

WEEKLY CALLS FOR EFFECTIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish 15 Dec 83 p 5

[Editorial: "A Vacuum to Fill"]

[Text] The political vacuum is the reality which, together with the economic crisis, is easiest to perceive in Chile today. This vacuum is caused by the absence of any clear political leadership, either by the government or the opposition. Neither one is capable of fully understanding the aspirations and anxieties of the citizens.

The deepest and most definitive cause of this is the complete absence of clear, predetermined economic and institutional objectives. This situation has led to a generalized disorientation. In fact, the only objective that can be considered a constant in the government in recent times is that of staying in power, in any way possible, until 1989. No doubt this fact has been detrimental to all the other objectives. Inside the government today, nobody dares take any kind of decision and consequently, for one reason or another, all the ministers are neutralized. Furthermore, this situation has led the opposition's actions to become blurred, leaving it with a single objective as well, which is none other than the goal of destabilizing or bringing down the government.

Without a doubt, neither goal or end is attractive to the great majority of citizens, who only aspire to peace, tranquility, liberty and economic well-being in a stable, permanent form; and the way things are going, they see this possibility fading away.

The absence of leadership we have described is aggravated by the divisions within the opposition, the government, and among their followers. The divisions within the opposition are caused by its heterogeneous ideological composition a weak force incapable of being a real or powerful alternative with effective solutions to the current problems of the country. On the other hand, the divisions within the government and among its followers is the result of a seemingly endemic malady, or else a perfectly preconceived policy. That is to say, a serious defect in governmental decisionmaking has led to a complete lack of coherence in government policies and to the coexistence of alternate and absolutely contradictory policies.

Like all political facts, the above situation has clear consequences. In our judgment, these are evident in the short term and also in the future of Chilean institutions, which is what is worst.

In the short and medium term, the political vacuum will benefit the government. This is so because, despite the lack of clear, precise objectives, there is no doubt that the political figure of President Pinochet is still the most important and the one that has the most support among the people. More important, he still has the full support of the armed forces. All of this means that he is still the most effective and realistic alternative for the government.

On the other hand, however, the other beneficiary in the short and medium term is extremism. This is because, in spite of the military government's relative preeminence, its position is neither definitive nor overwhelming. As a result, sectors of the opposition, cleverly manipulated by the Marxist Left, are trying to dream up ever more extreme strategies which may be useful and efficient in gaining them the political leadership they lack today, but which they enjoyed for a fleeting moment toward the middle of this year.

Nonetheless, we believe the most serious consequence of this political vacuum lies in the long term. What will be left of the work and achievements of each and every one of the political sectors of the country? What impressions will future generations have of today's political leaders as the architects of their future? What legacy will the struggle for a better future leave?

We think that under the current circumstances and without overlooking the immense, creative work achieved by the government during a large part of its period in office, the country and its political leaders from all sectors have been running out of steam. Their work, policies and objectives have become impoverished, and the policy of conformism or the "lesser evil" has begun to triumph. That is, the policies, work and aspirations are becoming blurred and end up being accepted in a form that differs from their original conception. This is always done for the sake of a higher end, which is less and less specific and more and more distant. The end result is that the citizens' capacity for surprise, and consequently, for reacting to national events, is failing to such low levels that many fear for the political and economic future of the country.

The political vacuum must be filled. Not only because it is hurting the military government, but because it is hurting the country. Although its imprints are not clearly evident, the damage is being done slowly but inexorably. It is necessary to react and to react in time. Time is short, but institutionalization and development can be achieved substantially and peacefully today. But future unknown events in the country, or simply the passage of time, can force such hasty actions to be taken that the military government will have lost its historical opportunity to give the people the stable and free country once dreamed of by every Chilean.

NEW EXPORTS TO U.S., EEC TO SUPPORT RECOVERY

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 5 Dec 83 p 6-D

[Text] Rodrigo Marin Bernal, minister of development, announced that the crisis suffered by Colombian foreign trade, created by the world economic recession, will be definitely overcome in 1984.

The high-ranking official presented indicators showing the improvement registered, so far this year, in the volume of sales to the United States and to Europe at a time when Venezuela, our main market for minor exports, was closing its doors.

Marin Bernal said that Venezuela will certainly solve its exchange problems during the first semester of 1984 and, knowing what to expect, traders will be able to plan their transactions, all of which leads to believe that the terms of trade will go back to normal.

In addition to the improvement expected in the sales of nontraditional goods, the minister said, our exports of coal and ferronickel will help to shore up the recovery of Colombian foreign trade.

The minister said:

"Starting in 1984, there will be a definite upturn in our foreign trade and, more important, we will start exporting from the mining sector which is expected to become the mainstay of our balance of payments.

"New products will help to diversify our exports and our foreign reserve earnings will have a stronger pattern.

"Not counting the earnings from sales of coal and ferronickel, nontraditional exports are expected to increase by about \$50 million over the next 3 years.

"These estimated figures are supported by the fact that a recovery is certain to take place in the markets of developed countries and neighboring nations and also by the results of various research and development programs concerning products such as shrimp, light tobacco, marble and new varieties of flowers."

Trade With Europe and the U.S.

The minister pointed out what is happening in the trade with Europe and the United States.

"The performance in sales to northern countries is obviously different. For instance, during that same period exports to the United States and Canada rose by 12 percent while sales to countries of Eastern Europe increased by 70 percent.

"The same can be said for purchases in the European Economic Community which show an increase of slightly more than 20 percent during that period.

"The upturn of the U.S. economic is closely connected with the increase registered. Prospects for textiles, fabrics, flowers and sugar--which are our chief exports to that country--depend, among other factors, on a solid increase of the demand for these goods, something clearly shown by the economic indicators," he concluded.

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GOVERNMENT FORESEES ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN 1984

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 30 Nov 83 pp 1A, 8A

[Article by German Navarrete]

[Text] In 1984, Colombia will begin a period of economic recovery which will provide a favorable atmosphere for major industrial revitalization, the creation of more jobs, and attention to several major social problems.

This statement was made by the vice minister of the treasury, Florangela Gomez, during an analysis of the country's economic situation intended to orient labor negotiations at the National Wage Council [CNS].

Gomez indicated that the government's optimism concerning an economic recovery beginning in 1984 is based on the following factors:

1. Inflation, which in December of 1982 stood at 25 percent, was only 17.2 percent in October of this year, due to steps taken by the government;
2. The world economic crisis appears to be nearing its end, based on improved GNP in the United States and the EEC;
3. Prices of agricultural products are rising on the world market;
4. The country will feel the impact of the Fiscal Reform during 1984, and
5. As a result of the foregoing factors, private sector financing will improve in 1984, including popular housing.

Real Minimum Wage Rise

Protection of domestic production and labor, containment of the fall in international reserves, and adoption of an integral fiscal reform after 10 years of searching for adequate means to improve the country's situation in this regard all constituted a significant departure in the country's recent economic policy, the positive effects of which are now being felt in the following areas:

1. A Drop in the inflation rate;

2. A drop in interest rates (of 4 percent of the passiva rates and 3 percent on active rates). It is believed this will stimulate investment;

3. A rise in real minimum wage as a result of the drop in inflation, which has the strongest negative effect on the purchasing power of workers at lower wage levels. A change of 5.5 percent has been observed, as against a 2 percent average in urban areas and 3 percent in rural areas over the last 3 years.

4. A reversal in the unemployment trend;

5. Favorable changes in agricultural production. Latest estimates reveal a growth of 2.5 percent, in contrast with the 1 percent drop registered in 1982. This has been reflected in a moderate growth in food prices (17 percent, which is identical to the overall price trend).

Given the lack of accelerated growth in food costs, the purchasing power of the minimum wage has increased.

6. A favorable reaction in the construction industry, based on the following:

--Growth in the number of construction permits to October: 17.5 percent;

--Increase in UPAC [expansion unknown] earnings to October: 60 percent change;

--Increase in UPAC placements to October: 50 percent change.

This, according to the vice minister, in addition to stimulating growth, is in line with the government's strategy for the popular housing industry.

7. The drop in minor exports will be less severe, according to INCOMEX [Foreign Trade Institute]. In 1982, such exports had dropped 17.3 percent with respect to 1981, but in October of this year they had dropped only 8.1 percent compared to the same period last year. This would indicate a drop by year's end of 9.7 percent.

The vice minister also explained that while the balance of trade is negative, INCOMEX figures make it possible to foresee an induced foreign exchange savings this year of more than one billion dollars.

8. A favorable reaction in the mining industry due to nickel and carbon production and new petroleum deposits, and

9. Growth in certain industries, such as textiles, beverages, footwear, and vehicles, even though in some cases the change in the trend may have been produced by the restrictive effect on demand of rising prices, as in the case of tobacco products and automobiles.

GOVERNMENT PROMOTES NEW FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 5 Dec 83 p 5-C

[Text] Yesterday the government announced measures intended to promote the growth of foreign investments in Colombia and reported that there has been an economic recovery in these last 3 months.

Jorge Ospina Sardi, the head of national planning, said that the government's new guidelines to inject foreign capital into the money supply for national goods and services will be explained "during a special advisory meeting" scheduled to take place next July in Bogota.

Lenders and investors from the United States, Europe and Asia in particular have been invited to participate in that symposium.

Ospina Sardi reckons that by applying safeguard clauses Colombia will have a preferential system allowing new foreign investments to register a considerable increase starting next year.

The new guidelines call for investors to compensate their imports with proportional sales in the international market.

According to Ospina Sardi preferential treatment will be given to the border areas to make sure that they become industrially developed and to reduce their dependence on buyers of goods and services from neighboring countries.

The government's program of public works for 1984 calls for more than \$500 billion in investments. "This will give decisive impetus to the recovery," Ospina Sardi said.

According to the chief planner, special facilities to secure foreign loans will be given to Narino, Norte de Santander, the Guajira and other frontier areas as an additional step in the economic recovery of the frontier region.

The official repeated the announcement made by President Belisario Betancur who said that "the economy is reaching the end of the tunnel." The chief planner spoke on the "Face to Face" program of Radio Cadena Nacional. He reaffirmed that next year the government will allocate \$7 billion to the rehabilitation of areas affected by violent incidents.

He finally said that it will then be possible to reconsider the restrictions imposed on the purchase of goods from foreign markets. However, domestic production and jobs will continue to be protected to reduce the hardship of coming out of the recession.

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FINANCE MINISTER EVALUATES GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICY

Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 1 Dec 83 pp 1, 16

[Article by Raul Rodriguez]

[Text] The government yesterday warned bankers that it will press for lowered interest rates within the domestic finance market once the exchange rate has leveled off, as this is an indispensable step toward economic revitalization.

This announcement was made yesterday by the minister of finance, Edgar Gutierrez Castro, who spoke before an audience of a hundred bankers on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the capital city's Bankers Club.

On the other hand, in the minister's assessment of economic policy developments under the Belisario Betancur administration, he said that increases in "wages should not be granted, nor increases in the price of goods and services, in order to guarantee that anti-inflation strategy will remain on track and the economy will thus continue its march toward revitalization."

During his talk, Gutierrez Castro emphasized the following points:

"Recent days have been tight. Nonetheless, as the current session of the legislature approaches its end, we hope the Congress will issue important bills for the development of economic policy, such as the foreign trade law, the reinforcement of IFI [Industrial Development Institute] and the Agrarian Fund [CA]. Also, before the end of the congressional period, the government will issue a decree concerning the sales tax."

Gutierrez Castro added that economic policy is an effort to define expectations, and from the government's point of view, the businessman and entrepreneur generally already knows what to do, as "we know the direction we are headed in, and we are making progress toward our goal."

The minister said that in developing economic strategy, the following achievements have been reached: a healthier system of financial brokerage, as private domestic savings is a touchstone for efforts to capitalize; and a real solution to the problem of weak public financing, based on decisions strict to the point of unpopularity, in order to increase public revenues.

An end to inflationary expectations, as demonstrated in the statistics, and progress is now being made toward the second goal of lowering the index of change in consumer prices on the order of 14 percent a year. "An increase in real earnings, and a rise in Colombians' purchasing power, will not be achieved with increases in nominal wages, but rather by attacking high prices and increasing buying power in real terms."

A healthier international finance market; access by Colombia to foreign markets where, in spite of the crisis throughout Latin America, our country has secured foreign loans for 2 billion dollars and has laid the foundation for the development of a program to win foreign financing for the government in coming years.

Interest

Speaking before the bankers club, the minister of finance said that the government has been stepping up the pace of currency devaluation in order to reach a realistic exchange rate, a state of equilibrium, after a long period when the peso was overvalued.

"We have thus recovered our competitiveness in international markets, for with reduced inflation and greater devaluation, export costs have fallen, so domestic products can be placed on the world market at competitive prices," said Gutierrez Castro.

He added that once equilibrium has been reached in the exchange rate, the government will begin to attack on another front necessary to economic revitalization, which is lowering the financing costs of the economy's productive branches.

"Financing costs in the productive sectors are high. So long as we fail to tackle this problem, we will not see a real resurgence in these areas. We have not been able to move any faster in the area of lowering interest rates while we were occupied in achieving equilibrium in the exchange rate. When we have reached that point, we will be able to proceed to tackle high interest rates," indicated Gutierrez Castro.

Bankers have said that during the last several months a slight drop has been recorded in the rates of investment and earning; nevertheless, they have said that it is impossible to lower rates further while greater devaluation is coupled with low inflation, for this would give rise to capital flight, and at any rate, it is necessary for the government to reduce the yield on government paper in order to permit the banks to compete.

Lastly, the minister of finance cited statistics of the National Securities Commission [CNV] which show that capitalization of corporations through stock issues is recovering at a rate of almost 120 percent over 1982, with growth most outstanding in manufacturing and finance.

Gutierrez Castro said that government policy seeks to stimulate capitalization in both the private and public sectors, while destimulating indebtedness. These are goals which are now being achieved, as expressed in the CNV's statistics, and in the data on incorporation, thanks to tax incentives.

BANK PRESIDENT CITES WEAK FOREIGN CREDIT RATING

Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 1 Dec 83 p 12-A

[Text] Luis Prieto Ocampo, president of the state bank, has criticized the fact that Colombia's negotiating position in matters of foreign credit is weak, inconsistent and lacks continuity.

As a result, the banker added, when Colombia negotiates foreign loans their terms are not always the best ones and there are cases of default on the servicing of debts.

Prieto Ocampo explained that the country needs to have an authentic development bank to negotiate foreign loans for the state sector.

"Colombia's strategy and negotiating capacity," he said, "have never been sufficiently strong in its deals to secure loans. It lacks consistent criteria and many of the contracts signed to finance its infrastructure projects depend on improvisation and on the inexperience of whoever happens to be the administration's representative in the international development agencies. There have been some significant exceptions which only serve to confirm the rule.

"The reality is that in foreign negotiations the Colombian side is usually weak, inconsistent, lacks continuity and more often than not the country is represented by new officials who by accident and for reasons other than their expertise and experience are suddenly given the role of negotiators.

"That attitude is at variance with what happens in other countries of this hemisphere where development funding has been institutionalized and where the task of securing foreign funds to carry out development plans with continuity is entrusted to specialized agencies. Experience and expertise are not affected by political changes and that is the reason why the contracts signed by such countries are increasingly favorable. Not to mention the fact that they enjoy greater flexibility to dispose of the loans which they obtain and that they are in a better position to keep their commitments."

Default on Payments

Prieto Ocampo said that due to the unfortunate fact that in Colombia responsibility for foreign loans is not centralized, it often happens that some of the executory agencies default on the payments to service the debt.

"And what can be said of the attitude of many of these entities towards the important matter of servicing their foreign debts? Some of them, taking advantage of the fact that the statutes of the lending institutions require the governments of the countries to guarantee the loans, fall behind in their payments, forcing the government to assume their liabilities as otherwise other loans being negotiated by the country may not be approved or processed. Even when there is no default, it is difficult to make payments in time due to the complicated official formalities required to make public disbursements," said the president of the state bank.

He explained that many finance ministers who, by virtue of their office represent Colombia in the boards of governors of the international lending agencies, have witnessed the lack of coordination and the irresponsibility shown by executory entities regarding their commitments when they are suddenly informed at the general meetings of the IDB or of the World Bank, that the signing ceremony to authorize loans to their country--scheduled to take place during such meetings to enhance the occasion--cannot take place there and then because Colombia is in delinquency due to their inadmissible conduct.

"The minister has no other solution than to give orders for the immediate payment of the standing debt by the state bank since the state guarantees that debt."

Formula

Prieto Ocampo gave his views on this subject during an energy meeting held in Cali. He explained that all this could be avoided "for the sake of our country's dignity, for the sake of securing and processing its loans and for the sake of the necessary coordination between development programs and financing resources, by setting up a development bank which will act as the financial agent of foreign and domestic resources."

He believes that the reorganization of the state bank has made it an institution capable of assuming that type of responsibility. Expanding on the subject, he said that "these ideas on the future role of the state bank to achieve those or similar objectives were very favorably received during talks with representatives of the World Bank and of the IDB."

Banking Crisis

Prieto Ocampo also expressed concern over the fact that the banking system is carrying a large amount of debts which are not likely to be collected, a situation with bad consequences for the financing role which that sector is expected to play in the ambitious programs of public investment.

He said that looking at a banking system which has 36 billion pesos worth of debts compared to 70 billion pesos worth of capital and reserves "one can draw the conclusion that the very structure of that sector is seriously threatened."

He said that in order to remedy that situation the financing system must urgently replenish its capital and adopt a most conservative policy. It must require that its clients meet their obligations punctually; it must force them to offer genuine and sufficient guarantees and to invest some of their own capital in the project to be financed so that the institutions or individuals involved are responsible for the commitments made.

"Unless the Colombian banking system strictly follows these requirements, it could collapse dragging in its fall the country's entire economy," the expert said.

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BRIEFS

EXPORTS SHOW GROWTH--PROEXPO [Export Promotion Fund] reports that sales of Colombian goods to the industrialized countries of Europe and North America show a significant increase of 9.4 percent according to figures for the period ending in September. Jose Vicente Mogollon the fund's director, reports that during the first 9 months of this year the country had exported goods worth a total of U.S. \$469 million compared to U.S. \$429 million during the same period of 1982. The most significant increase was registered in sales to the countries of the European Economic Community which jumped from U.S. \$113 million to U.S. \$135 million, an increase of 19.7 percent. [Text] [Bogota EL SIGLO in Spanish 30 Nov 83 p 10] 8796

CSO: 3348/130

CAUSES, MANAGEMENT OF STRESS IN MILITARY LIFE DISCUSSED

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish No 47, 24 Nov 83 pp 36-39

[Text] The high degree of readiness for combat and mobilization that marks the Revolutionary Armed Forces demands of each combatant a lofty political-moral and psychological status; constant watchfulness over all personnel and units in the performance of combative guard duties; quality execution of the combat, political and field training of the troops; uninterrupted command of all military action; firm, conscientious discipline and military organization; as well as a proper state of technical equipment, weapons, reserves and personnel as a whole.

For the sake of these goals, our chiefs, officers, petty officers, soldiers and seamen are mobilizing their physical, moral, intellectual and mental forces, instilled with deepseated ideological convictions resulting from the upright communist concept that they possess and faithfulness to that ideal which our party and commander in chief have inculcated into them. Hence there is a conscious understanding of the need for military service under socialism, whereby they are helping to maintain the conquests achieved by the workers by defending the fatherland.

The demands of modern war and the changes that have occurred in the technical equipment and weapons, and hence in human consciousness. require of the troops, as our commander in chief commented, a more stringent training: "At the present time there may not exist any activity that is more difficult and complex than military activity, because weapons are becoming constantly revolutionized and more complex." *

The Cuban military have these lofty politico-moral, intellectual and aesthetic sentiments. Love for the fatherland, hatred of the imperialist enemy, proletarian internationalism, collectivism and love for the military profession are combined in them with eagerness to learn and interest in investigation.

Clearness and firmness in their thinking are inseparable from an appreciation of the real beauty of the fatherland's nature, the grandeur of the socialist

* Castro Ruz, Fidel. Speech at the 22d Anniversary of the "Granma" maneuvers. DOR [Revolutionary Orientation Department] Publishers. Quarter October, November, December 1976, p 51.

system that they are defending, the riches of works of art, the creations of technology, the phenomena of nature, the things of everyday life, the actions of other persons, and vanguard ideas and vanguard theories.

In addition to these sentiments, military life produces others which make up a vast realm of mental states that are manifested in the combatants' activity, such as states of mind, affections, emotions and stress.

The Spanish word "estres" comes from the English "stress," and means tension. But we cannot call all tension stress; it is confined to the type emanating from the psyche which is present in combatants, manifesting itself in reactions to normal or dangerous situations, when some physical or mental burden is being experienced or when one has to make quick decisions involving responsibility, etc.

It is extremely important for chiefs, political workers, officers and petty officers, soldiers and seamen to be familiar with the psychological features related to the appearance and development of these mental states in the military, because it will help to control their effects and to maintain the psychological climate that will make it possible to perform military work more efficiently.

Stress is a mental state of the combatant's personality which arises as a result of the effect of highly significant stimuli and is reflected in the performance of the person's entire mental activity.

The study of stress conditions has been based, from a physiological standpoint, on the theory of the Viennese physician Hans Selye, concerning the "general adaptation syndrome."

Stress conditions indicate upsets in the functioning of the cardiovascular and respiratory systems, electrical inductibility of the skin and other vegetative indicators.

They also cause changes in the central nervous system and biochemical changes in the blood. Nevertheless, all such variations are not specific; in other words, their content cannot be determined based only on themselves. For example, the pulse quickens as a result of emotion brought on by fear or joy.

The combatant undergoes excitement during a night drill, at the first shot, during rest, before an examination, in major sports competitions, at the start of a checkup, inspection or maneuver, etc.

This excitement enables the military to act according to the requirements of the situation. This is why the reactions from these mental states which have a proper effect help, psychologically, to better prepare for the more complex tasks and the fulfillment thereof with the necessary quality.

When the stress is highly significant, not only are all the aforementioned indicators present, but also the individual's behavior often changes in a very typical manner. The general reaction of excitement appears, and the behavior is more or less disorganized (disorderly movements and gestures, broken, incoherent speech, etc.).

These reactions may be caused by severe irritation to which the combatant cannot adjust quickly. They often occur as a result of a dispute with other comrades, exhaustion, prolonged lack of attention to a request, illness, bad news, failure in love, with families, in work, etc.

A subsequent intensification of the stress may lead to an opposite reaction; in other words, general inhibition, impassiveness, and inactivity, which reduce the control over one's own actions and hence promotes mistakes in the performance of operations using technical equipment, etc.

When the stress is not very severe or prolonged, it is possible that no physiological changes will be shown. In such instances, the stress is determined on the basis of more subtle and peculiar changes in behavior, relating primarily to difficulties in exercising functions requiring a conscious control and associated with the orientation of thinking that involves solutions to some problem or other.

Difficulties are noted in the distribution and mutation of attention. At the same time habits and forms of behavior that have been learned and automatized are not inhibited, but rather may take the place of actions performed unconsciously, even against one's own will. All the foregoing proves that inhibition of some parts of conscious activity is possible in a stress condition; for example, errors in perception, memory, improper reactions to unexpected stimuli, reduction in the volume of attention and perception, mistakes in estimating the duration of periods of time, etc.

Nevertheless, all these negative manifestations of mental stress conditions are not always noted. It is in such difficult situations that one must surmount obstacles, which requires the mobilization of spiritual and physical forces wherein tests and checkups, combined with the exemplary behavior and attitude that our chiefs and officers maintain, help to reduce such tensions.

A minor stress may cause a flow of energy, greater activity, special clarity and accuracy in thinking and stimulating emotions in military endeavor.

The extent of the personal reaction to stress cannot be judged solely on the basis of the intensity and duration of the external influence. A major role in this is played by the individual features of the personality (orientation, disposition, character, abilities), and his previous experience and level of training.

During combat and political training, or even in combat, many factors act upon the combatant which could upset his mental stability and cause uneasiness,

alarm, fear and other negative phenomena. These factors include external ones which may be natural (geographical, climatic); those caused by the enemy (mass extermination weapons, use of aircraft, artillery tanks and other conventional types); the content of combat (complexity of tactics, the surprise factor, sudden changes, limited information on the situation, etc.); and internal ones: worry, suffering, tension, lack of self-confidence and of confidence in comrades, etc.

The difficulties of an objective and subjective nature that occur in military work, the critical situations that it produces, and the infinite number of matters to be resolved with accuracy, precision, decision and energy bring about desired events on some occasions and undesired ones on others.

The effects of the factors analyzed previously, related to the individual mental features of the combatants' personalities, cause stress conditions that may be negative or positive.

Negative stress conditions occur as an imperceptible inner tension which at times is disguised as aggressiveness, and on other occasions as depression, hysteria, emotional instability and a wide range of abnormal manifestations of personality, such as the lack of kindness, poor relations with comrades, bitterness, excessive hatred, unwarranted dissatisfaction, unhealthy discontent with what one has had to date, etc.

This sustained psychological tension can cause devastation in us, such as insecurity or indifference which entails a curtailment in the assimilation of study material and the development of moral-combative qualities in the course of combat and political training; which could prompt violations of discipline and cause a loss of acquired habits.

In research done on negative mental stress conditions occurring in humans, it has been concluded that a body subjected to them is prone to infarction, because the cardiovascular systems suffers; to ulcers which could lead to stomach hemorrhages; to allergies and infections due to a reduction in defenses; to rheumatism in the joints; and to other illnesses that would be impossible to list.

Nevertheless, human nature has given us a speedy, effective reflex system for physical, spiritual and mental conservation of the combatants' personality which, combined with the internal disposition, material and spiritual conditions, educational work and concern for the person that is present in the FAR, enables us to be fit to confront negative stress conditions and at the same time undertake systematic efforts to turn the latter into positive ones.

Positive mental stress conditions are the result of the conscious control conducted by the person over relations with his comrades, with the military work and with himself, as well as with the surrounding world, at a level of mental tension, so that it will help him to cope with fulfillment of the ever growing requirements and activities of military life.

For example, during the training period and in the performance of special drills, the chiefs, political workers and PCC [Communist Party of Cuba] and UJC [Union of Young Communists] organizations use scientific and technical lectures to a large extent in their work with the various ranks of the military, and organize courses on how to develop bravery, courage, daring, audacity and steadfastness.

Demonstrations are also held on how to carry out the drills; talk sessions and meetings are held; and instructions are given to the activists and combatants, also ensuring the personal example of the communists.

This is very important, because in addition to enhancing responsibility by developing the individual's independent and creative tactical thinking, it improves the ability to use rational risk in the training of subordinates. At the same time, it produces the additional factor providing a blend of pleasure and euphoria, causing him to seek new pleasurable sensations through certain states of tension such as emotion, haste, nervousness, etc.; these are translated into dynamic, enthusiastic and active deeds which typify the attitude of the vast majority of our combatants.

As the minister of the FAR, Army Gen Raul Castro, has noted, military living conditions create lofty qualities in the men, such as "love for the profession, a high regard for it, and an exalted opinion of the profession; because they know it and have learned to love it, and for our combatants who master and understand these qualities...they are proper, human and often advantageous," * constituting strong supports to control mental tensions of a positive nature.

In this way, the positive stress increases the secretion of adrenalin, causing a euphoria that helps in carrying out daily work, and also increases the body's resistance to certain diseases. This reaction depends largely on the individual's attitude toward the reality surrounding him, toward others and toward his work, as well as to forms of life and established human relations.

Optimism, enthusiasm and good will toward others, as well as the release of one's strength are factors that foster positive mental tension. For example, combat causes a keenness of all the senses which increases hatred of the enemy, indignation, rage and wrath, reaching their maximum reflection in the fulfillment of combative missions; because they are imbued with the noble ideal of protecting the sacred interests of the fatherland, the party, socialism and communism.

In this respect, combative excitement, eagerness for victory and an impetus toward struggle enhance the physical and mental forces, including moral ones, in combatants.

Some considerations stem from this analysis for dealing with negative tensions that may occur among combatants in the course of military activity in units

* Castro Ruz, Raul. Speech at establishment of SEPMI [Society for Patriotic-Military Education], 28 Jan 80, GRANMA, 29 Jan 80, p 2.

and small units. How can the positive effects of this phenomenon be used to advantage to intensify the defense capacity and overall training of our soldiers?

The first measure to prevent disorder in behavior under stress conditions is a high ideological level, and a sense of obligation and responsibility toward military service, a status and a quality that our combatants possess, produced by politico-moral convictions, our fundamental weapon for struggle and the internal basis of the motivation and combative spirit of our troops.

During operational, combat, political and psychological training, our officers, petty officers and soldiers acquire the capacity to mobilize all their forces at the necessary time to accrue success over the enemy and to keep up the mental tension that will enable them to consolidate the stability and readiness that the dynamics of modern war demand of military activity.

Another measure is preparation for the overload on the nerves from military life, both in peace and wartime conditions. We are living in dangerous, difficult times wherein, as our commander in chief remarked on 26 July of this year, there is a necessity for "nerves of steel, maximum steadfastness, maximum mobilization of the people and an absolute intention of not giving in to blackmail, if we want to check the aggressor, if we want to preserve peace, if we want to survive." *

In this respect, training prolonged until it makes action automatic forges the character and strengthens the will. Physical training and sports help to keep our people and their Armed Forces prepared to cope with any type of aggression that the enemy may have in store for us, at the same time helping to eliminate negative tension.

Nature has provided for our bodies to be equipped to undergo gigantic physical overloads at times, which in the end will strengthen our cardiovascular, nervous and muscular systems. We must learn to control our relations with the surrounding world at a height of mental tension that will aid us in performing our social functions and duties.

The personal example of the chiefs, the substitute chiefs for political work, the officers and the conveyors of public opinion in our units, with their effective ability to control their own states of mind, their concern for subordinates, their willingness for sacrifice and their daily performance of duty are effective measures for eliminating excitement and mental tension of a negative type.

The ability to determine the priority of the problems that we solve, combined with a search for logical, reasonable solutions for critical situations on

* Castro Ruz, Fidel. Speech at the ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of Moncada. 26 Jul 83. Magazine VERDE OLIVO. No 31/83, p 35.

a mental level (planning a certain action, reassessing a situation, waiting for results, listening to other opinions) helps to uncover the origin of stress and to use the thinking that accompanies it, turning it into a device that will make it possible to surmount obstacles; this being another measure for turning it to our advantage.

Avoiding pseudo-problems caused by improper solutions, a desire to demonstrate at all costs fitness, independence and the right to use others as a reflection of meager development of a genuine, candid, spirit of criticism and self-criticism, and not establishing mutual relations based on need, but instead establishing a system of relations based on respect, consideration and comradeship, as our military regulations stipulate, will help to eliminate the mental phenomenon that we have analyzed in its negative form.

Knowing how to rise above the problems that we have analyzed, through the use of individual and collective mental potential, and the use of reasoning, help to develop positive stresses.

We must not repeat our own thoughts incessantly. New information incorporated into our previous notions will enable us to emerge from the predicament entailed by stress.

This is a simple example: We have all had the experience of seeing something with a strange appearance in the twilight. As soon as one approaches it or directs light at it, the worry is assuaged. What made it possible to ease the stress? The search that changed the situation, the new notions, made it possible to draw a correct conclusion.

The good ways of conducting ourselves as members of the military, based on military ethics and official relations stipulated in the internal service regulations, combined with the proper manners, actions, expressions and rules of military and urban courtesy, and uprightness and a position of principle toward life in the FAR, constitute good measures for consolidating our work associated with stress conditions.

Thus far we have discussed the salient points regarding this modern phenomenon which, in the Armed Forces' activity, generally manifests itself as a temporary mental condition among combatants (satisfaction, dissatisfaction, excitement, tension, depression, etc.), and concerning which the scientific research is being continued.

The integrated focus of the training of combatants, the wholesome psychological atmosphere among the military groups in our units, combined with the points noted herein, will make it possible to learn to live with the mental tensions of military life in the FAR.

Stress, when well directed and used, makes it possible to improve the readiness of our troops for combat and mobilization.

2909

CSO: 3248/307

ALLEGED LEFTIST PACT TO OPPOSE FEBRES' CANDIDACY UNCOVERED

DP, PD Candidates Deny Report

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 29 Dec 83 pp A-1, A-9

[Text] A political understanding among three center-left parties under foreign advice to fight together against the candidates of the National Reconstruction Front became public yesterday. However, leaders of two of those three parties --the DP [Popular Democracy Party] and the PD [Democratic Party]--denied this and called it "political cock-and-bull."

According to yesterday's issue of the capital newspaper EL TIEMPO, this agreement was made around August 1983. The secrecy ended when a citizen decided to hand over the information he had for publication. He was bitter because, according to him, he had not been given a promised reward.

The PD whose candidate is Dr Francisco Huerta Montalvo reported yesterday that it has begun an investigation in order to discover the perpetrators of this act which it called "political cock-and-bull." If it has any basis, it would be very serious for the civic future of the country since the people would question whether the electoral process was honest and the person elected would not merit the respect that comes from honest elections.

An apparently foreign person named Octavio Meza is involved in this. He allegedly acted as "adviser" for the joint understanding among the three center-left parties. The report that expert sent to Dr Francisco Huerta was lost with the briefcase that contained it. Given the importance of the document, they published a notice offering a reward of 300,000 sucres to anyone who delivered the lost briefcase. The person who found it sent a copy of the document to the newspaper EL TIEMPO. He said that when he went to deliver it, they did not give him the 300,000 sucres offered but only 5,000 soles at the office of Dr Luis Pallares, Dr Huerta Montalvo's campaign director. He decided then to give copies of the mentioned document to the mass media.

The main parts of the document stated as follows:

"Quito, 6 September 1983. Dr Francisco Huerta Montalvo. Doctor: After analyzing the different polls and making a sociopolitical study of the Ecuadorean electorate which you have already seen, the bipartisan committee made up by

the delegates of each of the political parties and by me formulated the diagnosis contained in our report of 31 August. After discussion of that report with each one of the party leaders and based on their suggestions and requested changes, this committee which was formed to plan the campaign strategy and execution--especially related to the National Reconstruction Front--provides for your consideration this summary of the electoral positions and statements that we feel the three political parties of the center-left should assume.

"1. The three parties must maintain a position of independence toward the government. Let us recommend that it be a moderately critical position so that they are distanced as much as possible from responsibility for governmental actions, especially the DP and the PD.

"2. It is important that the protest vote against the national government be neutralized since this has been concentrated in favor of the candidates of the National Reconstruction Front. Naturally, the way to neutralize it would be to defend government actions, a defense that obviously the political parties cannot assume. This would be the responsibility of the national government within the following parameters:

"2.1 There would have to be continual statements defending the positions taken and government actions. These statements must be made at the highest level since the president has the respect and regard of the national press and has the ability to positively influence journalists. In this way, the mass media will be used to widely publicize an intelligent defense of government actions.

"2.2 The government would have to make the necessary sacrifices to take care of the local needs of each of the provinces by providing money or signing contracts to benefit those provinces. As much as possible, these actions should take place shortly before visits from the candidates of the Reconstruction Front to neutralize criticisms and disprove with actions the antigovernment statements that the candidates of the Front will undoubtedly make.

"It would be necessary to create an image of intolerance, force and violence for the candidates of the Reconstruction Front, especially engineer Febres Cordero. Therefore, the three parties would have to encourage acts of violence against the candidates of the Front when they visit the different provinces of the country; this must be done in an organized way but without being identified. These actions would have to be backed by constant mobilization of the mass media, denouncing this violence and asking that the campaign be carried out in peace and democracy. The three parties, the national government and the mass media that can be motivated should participate in this opinion campaign.

"Concerning the runoff election, the minority parties which lack leadership like the CFP [Concentration of Popular Forces] and the FRA [Alfarist Radical Front] are emotionally inclined toward the center-left parties. Therefore, we recommend:

"Continued statements that the only modern parties now are those of the left and reminders to the Ecuadorean people that engineer Febres Cordero represents

the far right. If this publicity is oriented correctly, the leaders of those parties will not want to recommend to their followers that they take positions defending the far right.

"The same thing happens in politics as in the social world. Anyone who has a custom lives with it and cannot get rid of it easily. Anyone who believes he is up-to-date will have trouble changing. This is especially true about women. Women will always make social, economic or political decisions thinking about 'what they will say.' This is very important in this political time and circumstance when a woman has control of a group that could be a potential ally."

The newspaper EL TIEMPO reported that it received the document--which also contains recommendations about organizing committees for an antioligarchical fight--in an envelope which included a letter from the person who found the documents. Despite the fact that a reward of 300,000 sucres was offered, he was given only 5,000 sucres in bills at Dr Luis Pallares' office. Therefore, he decided to send copies of those documents to the mass media.

It indicated that the telephone numbers included in that letter are that of Huerta's campaign office and Huerta himself.

DP Rejects It

The DP candidate for the presidency of the republic, Julio Cesar Trujillo, said that this document is completely untrue as far as his party is concerned.

He stressed that the DP has not hired any national or foreign "expert" to advise it on what it should do in the political campaign.

He added that he would like to believe that it was a document forged by those who direct Febres Cordero's campaign. This is logical since it is very favorable for his candidacy.

Trujillo also stated that there is no plot against anyone "and, of course, there is no plot against engineer Febres Cordero."

He said that this accusation must be investigated in depth. He felt it would be a very important lead to find out who put the announcement in the newspaper offering the reward of 300,000 sucres. He added that the Migration Office must reveal how and when the Colombian citizen "Octavio Meza," allegedly the person who prepared the document, entered the country.

PD: Anonymous Document

Through its spokesman and leader, Luis Pallares Zaldumbide, the PD refuted the authenticity of the document published by a newspaper in this city concerning a possible secret pact between the center-left parties and the government to neutralize the electoral campaign of the National Reconstruction Front.

Pallares stated that it is an anonymous document whose author is not identified and called it slanderous, a political maneuver and a cock-and-bull story.

He emphasized that it was not true that there was a secret pact and indicated that the signer of the document, Octavio Meza, was unknown. He could be a native, a foreigner or a phantom.

He reported that the PD has begun an investigation in order to discover the authors of the "political cock-and-bull story" but indicated that he is not sure of success in the investigation.

Pallares stated that this maneuver is an attempt to hurt the center-left parties: the PD, the ID [Democratic Left] and the DP. Some candidates are afraid of the success the center-left could have in the runoff election in which they will be united. He explained that the three parties are running separately in this first election so each one carries out its own political campaign for its own candidates.

Finally, he indicated that the PD has always been separate from the government. If at a given time it collaborated with the regime, it was for specific reasons--to defend democracy. When that collaboration was no longer necessary, it withdrew.

CFP, FRN, FRA Statements

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 29 Dec 83 p A-9

[Text] Guayaquil, 29 Dec--Angel Duarte Valverde, candidate for the presidency of the republic for the CFP, Leon Febres Cordero, candidate for the National Reconstruction Front, and Jaime Aspiazu Seminario for the FRA referred in different ways to the alleged discovery of a secret pact among the parties of the center-left: the DP, ID and PD.

Duarte said that what that document does--if it is true and not apocryphal--is strengthen our opposition, a position of absolute seriousness and respect for human dignity and the basic guarantees.

Asked if he accepted the veracity of that document, Duarte said that the document might be counterfeit or forged. We have seen in recent times how certain politicians are specializing in forging documents to hurt their enemies. He added that if it is forged, it reveals the complete unsoundness of those who have forged it. They want to make our party the victim once more.

Leon Febres Cordero said that he must admit that, although the contents of the document are awful, it did not surprise him because everything said there has been happening with an almost mathematical precision.

He added that the coincidence between events that have occurred until now and the planning of this conspiracy among the ID, Christian Democracy and the PD was a dramatic and terrifying coincidence. He added that this is what is happening in the republic, violence against the candidates of the Reconstruction Front by those who aspire to keep themselves in power forever in order to continue destroying this republic.

Referring to this same matter, the FRA candidate indicated that he must state clearly that all the craziness occurring to confuse the Ecuadorean people does not surprise him. It does not surprise him "and I want the citizens to meditate on the fact that it is an attempt to confuse the Ecuadorean people with false, manipulated polls that speak of winners that are not winners." He emphasized that we will be the winners.

Asked if these actions were an attempt to destabilize the established constitutional order, Aspiazu answered that they were cheap attempts. He ended: I believe that Ecuador is searching for truths and we represent the truth, righteousness and calm.

The CFP demanded an exhaustive and fast investigation of the document just made public concerning an alleged pact between the ID, DP and PD and the government.

During a press conference yesterday, the vice presidential candidate of the CFP, Luis Rosania, said that this document is going to have a major repercussion on the electoral process because it involves two political forces of undeniable power: on one side, the "National Reconstruction Front" and, on the other side, the three parties of the so-called "merger"--the ID, DP and PD.

He added that for the CFP and the CFP team of Angel Duarte-Luis Rosania the document in itself is as important as the Ecuadorean people make it.

He indicated that it is indispensable that the source of this document be discovered after a very careful investigation, properly carried out, not a controlled investigation. After determining the correct and legitimate source of this document, the public will clearly see the extremes political greed has reached and is reaching.

He stated that unquestionably for the CFP candidates the truth is the first thing they demand, an investigation second and the concrete facts third.

He added that the *raison d'etre* of our candidacies is verified by this important event. He said that when the CFP launched its candidates, it indicated that it was giving the only correct option for the Ecuadorean people. Facing the radicalization of the political forces participating in the electoral process, not only was the democratic process in danger but the dissolution process of the country could expand.

Rosania emphasized: Our position is that it is easy to find the author. In the first place, there is a press announcement that had to be paid for by someone. Second, there is a signature of a foreign technician whose name, it is said, is Octavio Meza. He cannot disappear from the face of the earth. He emphasized that these two clues will mean a simple, practical and fast investigation to find the author of this document. This will determine what sector it comes from but, in our opinion, that is to some degree secondary. The important thing in this case is that the Ecuadorean people realize the extremes political greed can reach.

Additional Report on Pact

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 30 Dec 83 pp A-1, A-9

[Text] Many joint measures have been adopted by the center-left political parties in the country to oppose the National Reconstruction Front and its candidates in the present electoral campaign.

In a document by an international expert in political campaigns sent to the leader of the PD, Dr Francisco Huerta Montalvo, last 6 September--a document refuted and rejected by the center-left parties--Dr Octavio Mesa T. [as published] stated the following in addition to the parts already published in yesterday's issue: 1. Formation of committees "for an antioligarchical fight" in schools and universities; 2. Infiltration and recruitment of the CFP and FRA bases, especially to obtain their support in a runoff election; 3. Acts of violence against the CFP and FRA by aggressors who appear to be supporters of the Reconstruction Front; 4. Use of short and precise propaganda slogans in the style of the ID.

The second part of the 6 September letter Dr Mesa sent to the PD candidate, Dr Francisco Huerta Montalvo, is now made public. According to reports, the letter was left in a briefcase in a taxi. A reward of 300,000 sucres was offered for its return. When this was not paid, it provoked the discoverer to deliver a copy to a local newspaper.

4.2 The unofficial organization of committees for an antioligarchical fight in schools and universities with the participation of youths from the FRA and CFP must be encouraged so that they collaborate in the implementation of the recommendations in part 3. It would have an incalculable effect if there were some victim from the FRA or CFP in a confrontation with the Reconstruction Front. In that case, the solidarity of those groups would be staunchly in favor of anyone else in the runoff election against engineer Febres Cordero if he were one of the candidates. It is not our intention to recommend that a victim be created. We simply want to point out the fact that if there is a victim, it would be better to identify him with the CFP or FRA than with the three center-left parties.

4.3 These groups (CFP and FRA) must be infiltrated by politicians with strong personalities to exploit the lack of solid leaders when it comes time to make decisions about a runoff election. These politicians can direct the opinion of those parties to the advantage of the center-left.

4.4 In order to involve the CFP and FRA in the execution of the recommendations in part 3, acts of violence against those groups must be encouraged, if conditions are favorable, using very trustworthy people from any of the three parties. They must act in the name of the National Reconstruction Front, using chants, posters or signs from that Front so that witnesses can identify the attackers as members of the Front. We would not recommend using a tripartite force since it would be hard to achieve the necessary coordination and secrecy.

5. We believe that the long and complicated government programs are aimed exclusively at attracting the votes of minority groups. Short slogans, chants that rhyme, music and songs alluding to the campaign have impact and repercussions on the masses. It is our opinion that it is not necessary to create new slogans and chants. It is preferable to use those that have already had good results internationally.

The ID has already done good work in this field with slogans that identify it very well. We do not recommend this for them, only for the PD and the DP.

It is well known that the Reconstruction Front is using this procedure. It has plagiarized "With Leon it can be done" from Belisario Betancur's campaign, a slogan that yielded good results.

Simply to illustrate and give examples, we could mention the symbolism used by the Venezuelan AD [Democratic Action] on all its posters: "N. N. Pre-'si'-dent." There is also a slogan created in Argentina with obvious positive effects: "N. N. is the people." These examples or other slogans and chants could be used.

6. We recommend that the instructions given in each of the parties be clear, complete and concrete so that the members of each and their followers (in some cases) carry out the instructions in this memorandum (if it is accepted). However, this must be kept absolutely secret and the exclusive knowledge of the party leaders who have participated either on the committee or in hiring my services.

We believe that of the many plans studied, these six points are feasible to plan and execute. Through their implementation it will be unquestionably possible for one of the candidates of the three parties to win the runoff election if not the first election. Finally, we recommend that, at the end of December, there be an evaluation of the results obtained and intensification, suspension or new strategies chosen based on the results.

We are sending similar reports with our recommendations to the leaders of the DP and ID so that they analyze them and, as soon as possible, meet and decide on the most appropriate plan. We feel time is short. This strategy should have been outlined months ago but this was not possible due to political difficulties known to you.

With the confidence of having completely carried out with professional reliability the study assigned to me, I note my satisfaction in the cooperation received from the delegates of the three parties on the coordination committee, my recognition to Mrs Milagros de Hurtado who has aided me constantly and, to you and the leaders of the ID and the DP, my deepest gratitude for the opportunity you have given me to know your beautiful and noble country and interact with its kind and generous people.

I wish you success in the present campaign. the historic direction of the Ecuador of tomorrow and the implementation of justice for the present and future generations will depend on its results.

Sincerely,
[Signed] Dr Octavio Mesa T.

Other Papers

In addition to the letter, a weekly bulletin from the Quito Stock Market for 12-16 December 1983 and a handwritten letter signed by G. Gonzales demanding the 300,000 soles offered as reward were also found. The letter is as follows:

"Your employee told me he would return later to give me the check you had to sign. Later they told me that the important papers were not there and that I had taken them but this is not true. Miss Maria del Carmen gave me 5,000 sucres in bills and told me that it was enough and not to bother them anymore." Then he threatened: "I have some photocopies of those papers and the figures. If you do not send me what you offered, I will send them to some politicians and journalists."

7717

CSO: 3348/191

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN GETS INTO FULL SWING

Quito EL COMERCIO in Spanish 30 Dec 83 pp A-1, A-9

[Text] The electoral campaign entered the homestretch at the end of 1983, 30 days from the general elections on 29 January 1984.

There are expectations in the country concerning what might happen in the last 30 days of the campaign, basically due to events of recent days.

The electoral campaign has reached its climax. The nine presidential candidates have intensified their tours through the provinces, cantons and parishes of the country. They have also made mutual accusations--some very serious, of course--within the electoral process.

About 3.5 million Ecuadoreans are getting ready to participate in the 29 January 1984 elections. They will include the presidential election and the election of 71 deputies--12 chief national deputies and their respective alternates and 59 chief provincial deputies and their respective alternates--25 canton mayors, 19 provincial prefects, 70 chief provincial council members and their respective alternates and 551 canton council members with their alternates.

The nine teams that will participate in the 29 January elections are, in the order on the ballot: Francisco Huerta-Rodrigo Espinosa of the Democratic Party; Angel Duarte-Luis Rosania of the Concentration of Popular Forces; Julio Cesar Trujillo-Miguel Villacres of the Popular Democracy; Leon Febres Cordero-Blasco Penaherrera of the "National Reconstruction Front"; Rene Mauge-Humberto Vinuesa of the Broad Leftist Front; Rodrigo Borja-Aquiles Rigail for the Democratic Left-People, Change and Democracy alliance; Jaime Aspiazu-Miguel Falconi of the Alfarist Radical Front; Jaime Hurtado-Alfonso Yanez of the Popular Democratic Movement; and Manuel Salgado-Elias Sanchez for the "Socialist Front."

The presidential runoff election in case none of the candidates wins an absolute majority of votes will be held Sunday, 6 May 1984. The winners will take office on Friday, 10 August 1984.

Although the electoral campaign will enter a forced truce this weekend--the last before the elections--because of New Year's Eve and New Year's Day, the country was shaken by the recent accusations of the "National Reconstruction

Front" which endorses the team of Leon Febres Cordero-Blasco Penaherrera. It accused the Democratic Party, Democratic Left and Popular Democracy of having a secret pact with the government against the candidates of the Front.

The leaders and candidates of these three parties--called center-left--flatly denied this accusation. They denied that it had any validity and called it a "political cock-and-bull story."

A third position assumed by the CFP team of Angel Duarte-Luis Rosania warned that this document will have a major repercussion on the electoral process because it involves two political forces of undeniable power: the "National Reconstruction Front" and the three parties mentioned.

The CFP team demanded a fast and exhaustive investigation of the document just made public.

Also the FRA presidential candidate, Jaime Aspiazu, said that this type of position is an attempt to confuse the Ecuadorean people. He also criticized the polarization of the candidates in the electoral campaign.

Despite this last event, the campaign entered a forced truce of a few hours. It will resume, probably with greater intensity, on 2 January. However, it is hoped that the last stage of the campaign will develop with dignity and circumspection.

7717

CSO: 3348/191

URNG MEMBER COMMENTS ON COUP, TIES TO ISRAEL, U.S.

Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish 1 Dec 83 p 4

[Article by Norka Romero]

[Text] "The coup d'etat led by Mejia Victores resulted from the global needs of Reagan in Central America and the Caribbean. The program of docility toward the United States is causing the government of Guatemala to sabotage the Contadora Group, support the invasion of Grenada and encourage CONDECA to unleash aggression against Nicaragua."

This statement was made by Lucrecia Matzar, a member of Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) and her country's representative to the international symposium on Zionist interference in Latin America.

During a brief meeting with TRABAJADORES Matzar noted the importance of events like these in order to directly denounce the way puppet regimes act as faithful lackeys to imperialism and subjugate and massacre peoples who are struggling for a better life. "Counterinsurgent Zionist cooperation with the Guatemalan regime is manifested not only through direct agreements with the Government of Israel, but also through commercial and technical assistance agreements with the United States. It is also expressed through the cooperation of international organizations such as FAO and AID, in which Israeli specialists and technical experts participate," she stated.

In regard to her country's internal situation, she emphasized that in recent days repression has worsened and that there are new victims daily among the civilian population and the peasants and, recently, even within the rightwing sectors themselves, as exemplified by the recent assassination of 12 cadres of the Christian Democrats.

She later pointed out how the internal struggles among the army, the government and the rightwing parties are carrying the country toward a real catastrophe.

Before concluding her statement, the Guatemalan representative sent a greeting of solidarity to the workers and people of Cuba, and expressed her admiration and respect for them. She praised the worthy example they showed the world during the recent aggression against Grenada as well as the stand of the Cuban construction workers in the face of the invading U.S. troops, where the great courage and stoicism of the Cubans was demonstrated.

FORMER OFFICIAL SEES NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AS FAILURE

Tegucigalpa LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 8 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] LA TRIBUNA was told by the former secretary of the Higher Council for Economic Planning (CONSUPLANE), Efraim Reconco Murillo: "After 2 years of Liberal government, the new National Development Plan (PND) superficially approved by the National Congress has been a categorical failure."

"I am more than certain that this plan has failed," reiterated Reconco Murillo, who was minister without portfolio during the provisional administration of Gen Policarpo Paz Garcia, and is an avowed Nationalist militant.

He claimed: "The plan has failed simply for two reasons: In the first place, it was approved for the first time by a Congress; hence it was a law for immediate implementation. But the executing institutions did not implement it, and if they have done so it has been only in the areas that suit them."

He explained: "Secondly, I know that some of the state secretariats are not even familiar with it, and are using their budgets or executing their projects regardless, in a disorderly manner or for what they can get out of the projects."

Those to Blame

The failure of the plan cannot be blamed entirely on the programmers, but also on the executing units, because if the latter had not been willing to keep their commitments completely, this would have been corrected in CONSUPLANE, which is comprised of government officials, representatives of free enterprise and deputies of the National Congress.

Reconco Murillo remarked: "However, this PND was approved in a jiffy; in other words, something was approved the nature of which was not even known."

Failure

He noted: "PND has been a complete failure in the area of execution, and the same thing has happened in the realm of programming, because it was devised on the basis of fictitious hypotheses."

He added: "For example, the plan was devised on the basis of an alleged financing that was to be procured, whereas to date there has been nothing of the kind. All the funds being used have been procured by the previous governments." He charged: "The current regime has not procured any financing."

Moreover, Reconco Murillo stated: "PND was also programmed on the basis of a renegotiation of the foreign debt. I have heard comments by some officials claiming that only 25 percent of this has been fulfilled in 2 years. If we use this same projection, we could claim that, during the 4 years of the Liberal government, only 50 percent of the debt could be renegotiated."

Those Unfamiliar With It

Reconco Murillo declared: "If we analyze the institutions with the most execution of the public investment plan, we shall find that they are Natural Resources, the Secretariat of Communications, Public Works and Transportation (SECOPT), Public Health and Education, and others of lesser importance. We shall note that the indexes of execution for these agencies are the lowest for the past 5 years."

He said: "With the money present there in those departments, for some reason the projects have not been carried out and, in their default, the levels of execution have been very low. It would take too long to go into detail on this. However, what I can say is that each secretariat is pursuing its own work policy, regardless of what PND stipulates."

Former PND

Regarding the old PND, Reconco Murillo said that it was not approved by Congress because it was devised by a de facto government. According to his information, although it is true that it was not executed 100 percent, it was carried out 60 percent.

He added: "The government of Policarpo Paz Garcia, which was made up of the traditional parties, devised a Minimal Government Plan intended for the present regime to take into account for its first year in office, while a well-thought out, thorough document was being prepared."

He commented: "But this did not occur and a new document was issued. Hence, we find that, a year later, the Emergency Plan that was being executed by the ministries has been replaced by a different one. This is known and stated publicly."

Inflation Was Reduced

Concerning those responsible for the failure of PND, Reconco Murillo claimed: "I shall not embark on an assessment of the moral authority of any leader. When I headed CONSUPLANE, many reporters asked me the cause of the economic crisis, and I explained to them, without blaming anyone, that this situation was continuing owing to problems that had accumulated, which had not been attacked in time."

He said: "Nevertheless, the Paz Garcia government was concerned about seeking a solution for it, and that was when a Mini-Plan was devised to combat inflation and unemployment. It brought results in the first instance, because the year before (1980), inflation was 17 percent, and in 1981 it dropped to 9.5 percent. Therefore, it brought positive results."

Unemployment

As for unemployment, he regarded it as a more significant problem. He stressed: "But a plan was devised and submitted to the government. I don't know why they did not consider it for execution. I don't think that it was bad. If it had been, they could have made the appropriate corrections to gear it to the national reality."

When asked whether or not he felt responsible for the country's economic collapse, as the Liberals charge those who cooperated with previous governments, Reconco Murillo replied: "I have often heard that. I don't deny that past governments are to blame for this, but we cannot continue stressing that. The important thing is that, in 2 years of Liberal government, nothing has been done to surmount the crisis."

The economist remarked in conclusion: "This is an outcry that acts as a defense of the government to conceal its inability to cope with the situations being suffered daily by the Honduran people."

2909

CSO: 3248/291

SSTV 'LOVE STORY' PRODUCTION TARGETS SPECULATORS

Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 20 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by J.F. Melendez L.: "I Need You, I Love You, But..."]

[Test] Before the victory of the Sandinist Popular Revolution, TV was merely a completely mercantile-oriented, commercial medium, and of course there was never any concern for developing the theater or films; hence, we were left without discovering the future values of those forms of art. For many years, we lived on imported alienation.

During the past 4 years of revolution, SSTV [Sandinist Television Service] has expended praiseworthy efforts. Not only has it enhanced its programs by presenting quality works, but it has also started producing its own works, with scripts written by Nicaraguans and actors who are a result of the Justo Rufino Garay Acting Workshops, which the system promotes.

We are commenting on the recent film entitled "I Need You, I Love You, But...", which I attended as a guest of the TV service, witnessing it on closed circuit. It was shot in the departments of Managua and Esteli, its setting being the beautiful landscapes of these lovely cities. In it are disclosed the tricks used by hoarders to speculate with the people's necessities.

This is one of the ways used by the counterrevolutionaries to destabilize the country's economy and to impoverish the low-income classes who are the ones most hurt.

We must underscore the revolutionary conscience of our people who are cooperating with the authorities to break up this type of operation; and in the entire course of the film we were able to grasp the efficacy with which they are working.

In some scenes, we are shown the way in which this type of person acts. In this instance, Andres the hoarder leads a hidden life as an honest merchant who, in answer to a question from his wife as to how the "business" was going, said that one could not ask for anything more. And on some occasions he laughs with his "partners," to whom he recommends following his instructions, because they could go unnoticed in the community, where they are ostensibly respectable individuals.

The hoarder's daughter is the fiance of Virgilio, a youth integrated into the process, who is reproached on more than one occasion for his revolutionary activities. Nevertheless, the principles are more important to him, and he sacrifices his engagement for the sake of the interests of the people, who at that time are being harmed by his future father-in-law, who is brazenly engaged in speculation and ends up in prison.

Something that attracted my attention greatly was the fact that the script-writers and producers of the film never gave any indication that Virgilio, the youth who discovers the hoarder, had any emotional conflict in his relations with his fiancée upon making the disclosure. We are sure that his feelings must have been hurt, even though his principles were lofty, owing to the very nature of the Nicaraguan. However, the film never loses any of its merit.

2909

CSO: 3248/304

POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION IN CIVIL DEFENSE CRITICIZED

Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 26 Dec 83 p 5

[Text] The Union of Social Christian Women, aware of the historic reality in the country under the current regime, expresses a strong protest about the way the Civil Defense Shops are being conducted. They are being taught to teachers and students throughout the country under coercion and threats of losing the right to work or to continue their studies. This violates Articles 40 and 41 of the Basic Statute of Guarantees for Nicaraguans.

The Union of Social Christian Women feels that the shops must have the sole purpose of providing the necessary knowledge to safeguard the physical integrity of the citizens in case of natural disaster. It opposes having them used for political indoctrination for a certain ideology.

The Union of Social Christian Women repeats that it does not want foreign soldiers in our country. It strongly condemns any type of invasion, whether provoked by military actions or by ideological penetration which limits the freedom of man.

The Union of Social Christian Women, echoing the disagreement of teachers, students, parents and the people in general, states that their participation is due to the ministerial decision that has made it obligatory for teachers who want to develop their professional work and a primary requirement for students who want to be enrolled for the next school year. The J.S. 19 de Julio [19 July Sandinist Youth] predominates in them, thus demonstrating once more that the government-state-party merger is harmful to the interests of our people. It puts them in an unstable position since they do not know what guidelines to follow. It leads to a lack of credibility which is so necessary at this time.

We ask the Ministry of Education for an explanation about who directs those shops. We believe that the democratic opening announced last 4 December must be implemented in all sectors and services to the people.

Education must be integral and liberating for the people. Based on education, the people choose and decide what road to follow.

Minister, you have the last word in order to act and make the respect that the people of Nicaragua deserve prevail. You must decide that the J.S. 19 de Julio cannot participate or permit other youth organizations to participate equally in leading these shops.

[Signed] Union of Social Christian Women

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CSO: 3248/302

SALARY REVIEW; EDUCATORS RESTRICTED TO TEACHING

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 17 Dec 83 p 8

[Text] Next week the wages of the state workers and the production sector in general will be reviewed. Then the National Directorate of the Sandinist Front will announce its resolution on this. Cdte Jaime Wheelock, minister of agricultural, cattle development and agrarian reform, announced this yesterday in a meeting with agricultural-livestock teachers and technicians in the Juan Francisco Paguaga University Area.

The new wage policy will aid the organization of functions and tasks of professionals in their jobs and projects.

The minister also announced that after this week teachers or teaching technicians cannot be hired by state enterprises or institutions. Cdte Jaime Wheelock stated: "This measure will solve the flight of teachers to areas outside of their educational objectives."

He said: "This is a problem of the state that must not continue. The subjective elements of the wages of the professionals must be evaluated to assign just wages based on the number of years in service, the place of work, the position held and their technical level."

During the work meeting experiences and contributions to the unification of higher education, production and scientific research were discussed with the idea of creating an agricultural-livestock university for new professionals trained in that field.

The minister of agricultural, cattle development and agrarian reform said the political decision of the revolution is to give every impetus to education, especially agricultural and livestock education.

He announced the formation of an intermediate forestry educational institute in Zelaya Norte. He said that, although initiatives like this are undertaken, the immediate objective is to train agricultural-livestock and forestry teachers with the aid of friendly countries.

There are now 2,000 students being trained abroad for this objective.

At the meeting yesterday in which Dr Joaquin Solis Piura, chairman of the CNES [National Council of Higher Education], also participated, Wheelock appealed to professionals and technicians to stimulate research among students although he recognized the limitations that exist today.

PEOPLE'S GROUPS MOBILIZED TO FIGHT SPECULATION

Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 26 Dec 83 p 3

[Text] The People's Participation in the Supply

Speculation problems increase during periods like December, when consumers have more money available. This is a phenomenon that will always crop up so long as there is a situation marked by a small supply of basic goods, cheap price-setting and a large amount of informal unemployment. Institutions such as MICOIN [Ministry of Domestic Trade], the Ministry of Industry and MIDINRA [Ministry of Agricultural-Livestock Development and Agrarian Reform] are the ones participating most directly in the organization of supplies, but they alone are incapable of regulating trade. An office such as MICOIN, for example, has about 512 employees (and only 60 price inspectors), while the small trade sector is one of the main activities for our society's survival. In one market in the capital alone, the Eastern Market, there are over 8,000 dwellings.

To create a system that will ensure supplies for all sectors of the population is impossible without the active participation of the mass organizations in the tasks involving regulation and control of activities associated with the production and distribution of products for popular consumption.

The Participation of AMNLAE, CST and ATC

The participation of the mass organizations in the transformation of the distribution system has been progressing and consolidating for the past 4 years. Of the various organizations in existence, it is the Sandinist Defense Committees (CDS) which have been most involved in activities relating to the distribution of basic goods.

To date, the types of intervention among other organizations have been confined to very specific areas and tasks. For example, AMNLAE [Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women] has promoted projects associated with the problem of food and the supply. A mother and child program is linked directly to the problems of malnutrition suffered by these sectors, it being the organization's role to identify needy cases and make sure that they have access to medical care and programs for the delivery of foods such as powdered milk, etc.

Another project organized by AMNLAE in 1982 consisted of the collection of containers used in the fruit and vegetable processing industry. The shortage of containers has been one of the problems producing problems of lack of supplies. There is also the problem of the food industry's dependence on imported containers, which represents a waste of foreign exchange. To deal with these problems, AMNLAE has promoted the recovery of glass containers.

Directly associated with supplies, a program has been started to promote the cultivation of family, communal and collective gardens. At present, AMNLAE has over 2,000 members participating in this program; while the majority of the professional promoters of the program are members of that organization.

Both CST [Sandinist Central Organization of Workers] and ATC [Association of Agricultural Workers] have promoted fulfillment of the decree promulgated by the Government Junta in 1980, which stipulates the opening of commissariats in the work centers. Owing to these efforts, thousands of urban and rural workers have greater access to products of prime necessity. Not only can they buy at official prices, but on credit as well.

In addition to this, CST has set up an information network that enables it to notify its rank and file of the products available at the MICOIN distributing enterprises, so that the unions can organize in order to meet the needs of their members. This system allows the organized workers to purchase these items at favorable prices and prevents the products from circulating through unsafe channels where there is speculation with prices.

UNAG in Collection

Since its creation at the beginning of 1981, the Union of Farmers and Livestock Raisers (UNAG) has participated actively in the organization of the agricultural and livestock sector and the marketing of its products, promoting cooperative organization and channeling the demands for land, prices, roads and supplies of its 45,000 members.

Insofar as supplies are concerned, UNAG is participating in the organization of the collection, promoting the opening of intermediate collection centers whose heads are backed by this organization. By the end of 1982, 248 of these centers had been formed. As for the production and marketing of staple grains, the fact that many producers are planting corn and beans to market them later is associated partially with their commitment to UNAG.

This same organization has fostered the repair of roads to facilitate the egress of products. In various sections that the Ministry of Construction could not reach, UNAG has fostered the formation of peasant brigades, which have repaired the roads using their own resources.

CDS in the Defense of Supplies

There are about 12,000 CDS in the entire country, consisting of over 500,000 CDS members, who have been involved in many tasks to regulate and organize the

distribution of products for popular consumption. The CDS participation has been actively promoted by the Ministry of Domestic Trade, which admits that without the backing of this extensive network of people's power organs, there would not be the capacity for actually implementing the various measures for regulating trade.

Four main areas of CDS participation in supplies may be identified, namely, investigative activities, implementation, devising policies and political organization work.

At the beginning of 1983, there began the formation of a new structure for coordination entities, consisting of the Domestic Trade Councils that exist on a national level. One of the main tasks of these entities is precisely the determination of policies for distribution and price control. Participating in them are the CDS and representatives of various institutions, including MICOIN, ENABAS [National Enterprise for Staple Foods], the National Food Program, the Junta of Reconstruction in Managua and the Sandinist Police.

The CDS play another important role, informing and conscientizing the people regarding the supply problem. Problems of shortages tend to crop up for relatively short periods, but they have been increasing, and constitute the problem most keenly felt by the population, which the reactionaries are attempting to convert into a factor to destabilize the revolution. The CDS play a major role informing the rank and file of the reasons for the problem; for example, the incidence of hoarders and speculators; the United States Government's blockade policy; the fact that supplies are hampered when the per capita consumption and rural consumption levels are increased by the redistribution of income; the lack of foreign exchange with which to import goods required by the national food system; and problems relating to institutional coordination and planning.

The CDS's work also attempts to deal with the psychoses affecting many consumers regarding the lack of supplies. Under these conditions, rumors abound, or the so-called "gossip" about an alleged shortage, to which merchants and consumers react with an incredible speed to hoard and speculate, closing the vicious circle with a real lack of supplies.

Other political work done by the CDS is related directly to the retail merchants, particularly those in the markets. An attempt has been made to organize those sectors, incorporating them into neighborhood committees, as a mechanism for regulating their activities and developing their conscientization.

At the end of 1981, the role of the CDS in supplies underwent a qualitative leap when they participated directly in the establishment of a sugar distribution system. Starting at that date, the CDS took censuses on the district and county levels, determining the needs of 300,883 families, or 1.814 million persons; in other words, two thirds of the national population. The Defense Committees also selected over 11,000 sugar distribution stations all over the country and organized the system for delivering the distribution cards to each household.

In 1983, these tasks were consolidated and formalized with the establishment of the People's Supply Committees (CAP). On the district level, one of the main functions of the CAP is to make diagnoses of the operation of the local distribution system. Specifically, the CDS, together with the ENAGAS and MICOIN delegates, determine the consumption requirements in the district, and the number of distribution centers in existence, evaluating their operation in turn.

The CDS participate directly in the selection of the individuals who could manage people's stores, and only with their endorsement does MICOIN authorize the concession to establish people's shops.

The most direct type of CDS intervention in the regulation of the distribution system is associated with the price control activities carried out by this organization. The CDS in the districts appoint someone in charge of the defense of the economy, who is responsible for the tasks involving surveillance of sales prices in the distribution centers located in his area, and the manner of distributing food, to prevent hoarding or "cronyism." In view of the fact that MICOIN did not have the capacity to control prices, with only 60 inspectors all over the country, the CDS proposed a different control system based on "people's inspectors." Under this system, members of CDS work as volunteers exercising surveillance over local trade.

Prospects

Since the first months of 1983, an attempt has been made to consolidate the people's participation in the planning, design and implementation of policies and programs for supplies, with the formation of two coordinating entities, the Domestic Trade Councils on the national and regional level, in which various ministries and mass organizations participate, and the CAP, which coordinate the CDS and MICOIN delegates and the Sandinist Police in the districts, to deal with the most immediate problem.

Nevertheless, to solve the problems of shortages and speculation requires a higher degree of participation by the organized people in the supplies. The way in which the mass organizations have been responding to the problems, added to MICOIN's willingness to develop their potential role, indicates that the degree of participation will increase.

The challenge is to consolidate the experience of the past 4 years in the area of the people's participation in supplies, making use of the degree of organization that we have attained.

As for the future areas of work for the mass organizations, they are divided primarily into two. On the one hand, there are the activities aimed at regulating and standardizing the functions performed by private and state agents in the supplies.

The success of the card system as a mechanism to guarantee and stabilize supplies indicates the potential for extending this system to other staple foods if necessary. Despite some limitations on quotas, this system has had great

acceptance among the popular sectors, owing to the fact that it actually eliminates the problems of shortages and speculation.

On the other hand, there is a different type of intervention in the food system: direct control of the various functions of trade and production, as a mechanism for cutting the cost of food to the consumer. In this way, the mass organizations can directly organize tasks involving farm production, collection, conservation, processing and purchase and sale.

Some popular organizations have had valuable experience with this type of activity.

For example, there is the experience of the work commissariats promoted by the unions. UNAG is participating in the training of those who market agricultural and livestock products, while AMNLAE and other mass agencies are participating actively in the planting of family and communal gardens.

The CST's efforts to create a direct link between its rank and file and the MICOIN distributors, notifying its unions when certain staple goods are in supply, is a system that could readily be expanded.

These are the types of measures and action that cope with the speculation problem, ensuring the workers' access to staple goods; but their success depends directly on the degree of the people's organization and belligerence, in close cooperation with the pertinent state institutions.

Number of Persons Involved in Surveillance and Control of Supplies and Prices, 1982

Types of Activity	No of Persons
1. People's Inspectors trained by the CDS in cooperation with MICOIN	1,200
2. In charge of defense of the economy on the district level	9,162
3. Secretaries of defense of the economy on the level of	
- department	15
- municipality	113
- district	501
- county	73
	<hr/>
Total:	11,064

Source: National CDS and MICOIN

Estimated Number of Members of the Mass Organizations:

ATC	:	40,000
CST	:	90,000
AMNLAE	:	70,000
JS 19 J [19 July Sandinist Youth]	:	30,000
CDS	:	500,000
UNAG	:	70,000

Source: Prepared by CIERA

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CSO: 3248/304

REPORTAGE ON SHINING PATH ACTIVITIES

Peasant Casualties Total 10

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 17 Dec 83 p A-14

[Text] Ayacucho--Ten peasants were murdered by terrorists in the community of Oronccoy and in the adjoining community of Chupan, district of Chungui, La Mar Province.

The rebels wore uniforms of the Civil Guard in order to confuse the authorities and residents who reject the activities of Shining Path.

The attack on the town of Chupan occurred on 7 December. A rebel column murdered six peasants simply because they rejected their methods of terror.

Three of the bodies were dumped in a ravine and the other three were left at the site of the crime. The identity of the victims has not been established.

Another four peasants were killed in Oronccoy on 9 December for the same reason: they had refused to join the rebels. The identity of only two of the victims has been established: Emeterio Huaman Aspur, age 51, and Crescencio Orihuela Flores, age 17.

In another criminal action, the rebels left the woman Ratba Limpe Quintanilla on the verge of death. She was evacuated from Tambo, La Mar Province, to the hospital in Ayacucho.

The business of wearing police uniforms to confound the victims has become common practice in the towns of Ayacucho.

According to an official communique of the Political-Military Command, the Shining Path rebels "are trying to control the citizenry of the cities, towns, and villages through fear and by forcing them to join the armed struggle, which the subversive movement applauds."

Peasants Repel Terrorist Attack

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 22 Dec 83 p A-1

[Text] Ayacucho--At the cost of three deaths and several wounded, the village community members of Rapi, in the La Mar Province, repulsed a group

of rebels who sought to take the town. But they could not keep them from taking several head of cattle.

According to travelers who have come from the area, the rebel attack occurred Monday afternoon. The Rapi area is located in the Anco District, 68 kilometers to the southeast of Ayacucho.

The community put up stiff resistance to the Senderists who, when they could not take the town, fled towards the Chingui sector.

The incident received no official notice.

Terrorist Casualties Reported

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 24 Dec 83 p A-1

[Text] Ayacucho--Thirty terrorists died in skirmishes with the Combined Forces last Wednesday and Thursday, in sectors of the Victor Fajardo, La Mar and Huamanga Provinces, according to traveler's reports that came from these jurisdictions. At least two members of the army were wounded.

The first skirmish took place at Canaria (Victor Fajardo), 180 kilometers from Ayacucho, when an army detachment surprised a subversive column.

As a consequence of this skirmish, ten Senderists were reported to have died, while one sergeant major and a corporal were wounded. These last named persons were transferred here to Ayacucho and later on evacuated to Lima.

Another clash between the forces of order and the rebels occurred in San Miguel, La Mar Province, where five terrorists died.

Finally they were routed again in Soccos, 15 kilometers to the west of Ayacucho, on the Via de los Libertadores thoroughfare in a clash that left 15 terrorists dead.

Regarding these accounts, there was no official comment.

Nonetheless, between yesterday and today heavily armed patrols were observed all over the city, while others headed for outlying districts.

Also, last night there were two explosions between 11 and 11:15; one, next to the cemetery and the other, in the Carmen Alto District, to the south of town. No damage was reported.

This morning the body of an unidentified 14-year-old boy with a bullet-wound to the head was found in the last block of the Jiron Bellido, six blocks from the Plaza de Armas.

Another person, Jose Barrios Asto, who was indicted for drug trafficking, was riddled with bullets at the door to his house on Wednesday night.

Senderists Terrorize Huanta Community

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 24 Dec 83 p A-11

[Text] Between 11 and 20 December the Shining Path terrorists murdered three citizens and inflicted bullet wounds on two others in the city of Huanta in their "ominous way of spreading terror and adversely affecting human rights," --rights they ironically say they are defending, according to remarks by a distinguished resident of the aforementioned town.

In regard to the matter, the Political-Military Command of the area under emergency has issued Official Communique No. 116, which confirms that between 11 and 20 December, in the town of Huanta, the subversive criminals of the Communist Party Shining Path murdered the citizens Alberto Gutierrez Alcantara, age 23; Ruben Minaya Allende, age 23; and Raul Barrientos Anocha, age 25, and wounded Juan Flores Salvatierra, age 30, and Amador Ihualpa Galindo, age 26. Next to their bodies there were placards bearing the inscription: "This is how stoop pigeons die."

The official communique shows that the atmosphere of terror in the city of Huanta is due to the cowardly action permanently being carried out by the rebel group against peaceful, honest citizens who refuse to participate in insane acts aimed at testing Peruvian democracy; and finally accuses Shining Path of causing material damage for the sole purpose of hindering regional development and disturbing the social peace in the area under emergency.

Diaz Martinez Linked with Abimael

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 27 Dec 83 p A-4

[Excerpt] The minister of the interior, Luis Percovich Roca, yesterday stated that the link between the accused Emilio Diaz Martinez with Shining Path is real, according to the documents collected and in view of the records which have been accumulating.

Because of this, Percovich showed to what extent it is clear that Diaz Martinez is the ideologist of Shining Path, even though his defense attorney, Fernandez Gasco, maintains the contrary.

He observed that what is occurring is standard procedure, since, all elements linked to the rebels deny their participation or association. "So much so that Diaz Martinez denies the documents found in his possession belong to him," he reported.

He observed that this conduct is likewise another of the strategies outlined by the rebels. He revealed that the terrorists have a code they call the "golden rule: keep quiet and deny everything," which they put in practice at interrogations.

He revealed that Diaz Martinez has admitted knowing Abimael Guzman, who was at the San Cristobal University, Huamanga, and who is a man believed to be concerned about social problems. "But, obviously, he does not accept responsibility for the rest," he said.

MORE REPORTAGE ON SHINING PATH ACTIVITIES

Agricultural Association Facility Attacked

Lima LA PRENSA in Spanish 13 Dec 83 p 12

[Text] Huancaya, 12 Dec--Extending its radius of action, a group of terrorists belonging to Shining Path attacked, burned and looted installations of the Laive Production University of the Cahuide SAIS [Social Interest Agricultural Association], located in the Chongos Alto District, 40 kilometers south of Huancaya.

The Senderists also took two drivers hostage so that they could drive company vehicles which had been loaded with looted products and goods. The drivers were detained by the subversives.

According to the report issued this morning by line headquarters of the Chongos Alto Civil Guard, the Senderist attack took place around 1900 hours. Approximately 50 men armed with submachine guns and rifles, who were dressed in coarse wool clothing (some of them had covered their faces with ski masks), arrived at the Laive Production Unit in two trucks.

After surrounding the installations, they asked for the administrator and officials. When they were told that these officials were absent from the facility because it was Sunday, the subversives opened fire on the administrator's house, the machine shop and the accounting office. The losses totaled several million soles.

The subversives then looted the warehouses and loaded the merchandise into two D-500 trucks owned by the Cahuide SAIS, which at that time were transporting milk. The truck drivers were taken hostage so that they could drive the vehicles.

Directors of the Cahuide SAIS also reported that the hamlet of Antapongo, 15 kilometers from Chongos Alto, had been attacked by the subversives.

Uniformed Terrorists Kill Peasants

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 13 Dec 83 p A-1

[Text] Ayacucho, 12 Dec--Terrorists dressed in Civil Guard uniforms shot and killed eight peasants, three of whom were authorities, in the community of Santa Carmen, 170 kilometers from Ayacucho. The bloody incident took place on 9 December.

In the belief that they were indeed dealing with police officers, the people gathered in the main plaza without suspecting that they were confronting a column of terrorists who were seeking those opposed to the armed struggle so as to kill them and, without the slightest resistance, to continue sowing terror and death in the region.

The victims included Cirilo Zevallos, Florencio Huaman and Zacarias Rios, public officials of Santa Carmen, and peasants Leonidas Anaka, Emilo Orozco, Victor Carrasco, Daniel Casas and Jose Cardenas.

Through the use of these new methods, the subversives are trying to bring towns of the department under control by eliminating all persons opposed to the terrorists' plans and most particularly the authorities.

Cirilo Zevallos, Florencio Huaman and Zacarias Rios, although they were peasants, performed public functions and, therefore, had for some time been targeted by the subversives who have almost always directed their criminal actions against government authorities or development organizations.

The terrorists' modus operandi of donning police force uniforms is being used with increasing frequency, and on this occasion managed to surprise the people of Santa Carmen, without anyone thinking that under those uniforms were potential criminals who wound up killing eight peasants.

Senderist Leader Captured

Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 20 Dec 83 p A-1

[Text] Shining Path may have lost one of its principal leaders with the capture of Emilio Antonio Diaz Martinez in Ancash 3 days ago, according to information released yesterday by Interior Minister Luis Percovich Roca, who also admitted the possibility of a gradual dismantling of that subversive group, as the prisoner had confessed that "he had not been in touch with Abimael Guzman Reynoso for a long time."

The minister of interior denied the capture of Julio Cesar Mezzich Eyzaguirre; however, he confirmed the arrest, along with Diaz, of Amelia Edith Bueno Falcon, apparently one of his lieutenants who was with him when he was captured.

Percovich described the arrest as one of the most important anti-terrorist operations in recent times. He said that Diaz Martinez admitted he had directed attacks in Ayacucho, Arequipa, Puno, Cuzco, Huancavelica and Ancash, "styling himself as the principal ideologue." This could mean that Abimael Guzman is not the leader of the subversive movement, he said.

Percovich also said that up to now 680 to 700 operations had been conducted by the forces of order against terrorists, with 90 percent of the police forces taking part.

He said that specialized groups of the three police branches are taking part in these operations, in spite of the fact that in some cases personnel without adequate training are also being used but that in all cases their effectives are remaining in the convulsed region for a limited period.

He added that in the main the police forces are trained more to protect the people in the cities and rural areas.

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CSO: 3348/158

NAARENDORP ON RELATIONS WITH NETHERLANDS

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 10 Dec 83 p 4

/Article based on interview with Harvey Naarendorp by Peter Schumacher:
"Suriname Is Entitled To Dutch Money"/

/Text/ Paramaribo, 10 December--Immediate resumption of development aid offers the Netherlands the best guarantee of the restoration of basic rights which are genuinely meaningful to the people of Suriname. The more absolute approach to basic rights--including human rights--such as that demanded of Suriname by the Netherlands as the condition for resumption of aid has no democratic basis because the people were not able to have a say in the formulation of these rights. That participatory process now under way can be considerably accelerated in Suriname when the country has fewer financial and economic problems. This is the gist of the argument advanced by Harvey Naarendorp. Suriname's ex-minister of Foreign Affairs and government advisor.

"The Netherlands," Naarendorp argues, "really shouldn't look for it /proof/ anymore in a constitution or a bill of rights but in the development of the process here in Suriname and the extent to which our 'poor ruling group'--just as any regime is poor at the beginning of a revolution--is making gains, and indeed in the way that the role of the masses in the process is being expanded."

In an interview, the ideologically well-trained Naarendorp went on to say: "The Netherlands is demanding that Bouterse disappear from the scene, but The Hague does not realize that this would mean a catastrophe for Suriname. I think that the primary intention of the Dutch call for an independent international investigation of the events of 8 and 9 December 1982 is to get rid of Bouterse. It is a crime to make such a demand of Suriname in this situation."

Naarendorp claims that the only meaningful investigation of the deaths of 15 well-known Surinamers late last year would be a political investigation that answers the question concerning the political background of "that matter of 8 and 9 December" or--as many refer to the December murders here--simply "8 and 9."

Legacy

Naarendorp, who is thought to have easy access to Commander Bouterse, has this to say regarding the cessation of development funds from the Netherlands: "We

are living with the legacy of ex-Premier Henck Arron. Those funds were invested at that time mainly in a number of major agricultural projects that might indeed be good but are now practically idle and yielding no benefit. There is the Commewijne agricultural development project for rice, the Patanacca oil-palm project and the multipurpose Corona project for rice.

"The withdrawal of aid affects primarily the area of foreign currency. Implementation of these projects now has to be paid out of our own pocket. Here I'm thinking especially about the financing of imports. Suriname is convinced that it has a right to the money. And we believe that Dutch demands amount to extreme carping and interference in the internal affairs of our country. We can hardly give up things that would lead to a retreat from the revolutionary process."

Suriname is willing to negotiate with the Netherlands, "but talks will have to deal mainly with the question of whether we are to return to the former arrangement for aid or devise a new one. We could never return to that period any more than the Netherlands could. But we do not intend to consult with the Netherlands about how to build our democracy or about how everything should be done solely because we want to have our spending-money," says a rather cynical Naarendorp.

Organizer

There is no trace of cynicism at all when Naarendorp speaks about his efforts as the chief organizer of the national discussion on platform and the grassroots principles of the Unity Movement that has been conducted in more than 300 meetings throughout the country.

The text of the principles is--to express it cautiously--not entirely free of Marxist jargon, which the average Surinamer cannot understand easily. Naarendorp claims, however, that the discussions with the people are not hampered by this fact.

Says Naarendorp: "The first reports that we received were extremely brief, but gradually--the round of discussions lasted for 5 weeks--the people got used to it, and the reactions coming in were by far the best during the last 2 weeks. Not so surprisingly, the issues advanced for discussion in Paramaribo were entirely different from those in the districts. The farther you got from Paramaribo, the more the problems and questions centered on local interests, whereas many more political questions were asked in Paramaribo."

When asked, Naarendorp admitted that there are people who want to have little or nothing to do with the discussions and with the revolution. He claims that this is due partly to the unusualness and understandable suspicion towards "this new thing." Says Naarendorp, "Certain people are afraid of the police, but that is not the case generally. There are also people who say to themselves: 'If I don't join, I won't be able to survive!'"

Naarendorp, who studied law in Amsterdam, opposes the practice of always simply reacting against the Netherlands: "Otherwise you're so busy with it that you

never get around to developing your own country. I give lectures on the historical development of Suriname. The Marons--a black people living in the forest--once chose an insecure life of freedom in the forest over the security of the slave whose illness was always tended by the master purely out of self-interest.

I've always drawn the comparison of that with the development aid and the path that we have now chosen for ourselves. There comes a time when you must think about your own development.

Returning to the subject of the absence of basic rights and due process in Suriname--one of the reasons the Netherlands is stopping the aid--Naarendorp says: "The West frequently approaches this as though it were a goal in itself. The subject is often conjured up out of the blue as an excuse to lecture to a country. But this is done very selectively indeed. The Netherlands believes that it has the moral right to 'withhold money,' but we know perfectly well what is happening in Indonesia.

"We have serious grounds for complaint when the presence or absence of basic rights is politically exploited in this way."

Naarendorp maintains that it is not a question of granting people the traditional human rights, for, in the first place, the basic rights must include guarantees that foster the people's confidence in the process of change. That happens most readily when you can satisfy the basic needs of the population, he claims, and this can be done less quickly by this inaugural regime operating with a dearth of resources than by a regime that possesses the finances to develop the country.

Continuing, Naarendorp adds: "The right of free speech and press for the groups in society who are thought to be pursuing counterrevolutionary activities is severely limited, it's true. That is part of the picture in the present-day revolutionary situation. I don't mean to imply that it should remain this way. We should proceed with greater haste to a form of due process that is most practical." The guarantee that human rights will be observed lies in Naarendorp's vision of the greatest possible participation of the populace in a process of "living democracy."

Along with the grassroots participation, two major issues of the revolution are the campaign against social suffering and illiteracy, especially that of the population of the interior. Naarendorp states that he himself was astonished when a study indicated that in Suriname approximately one-third of a population of 180,000 adults is unable to read or write. Regarding social suffering, it too seems to be far greater than was first thought in a country with such a high average income.

Naarendorp emphatically denies that the leader of the revolution, Lieutenant Colonel Bouterse, is an unprincipled opportunist: "There is a clear, firm policy which he pursues and will never ever abandon: the transformation of a colonial army into a revolutionary one and the linking of this process to the masses by mobilizing the people." If this is not successful, says Naarendorp,

the renewal--the revolution as it was envisioned--will not occur. In the coming months, as Naarendorp gets underway with "the second round of the discussions," it will become a bit more clear whether the idea of popular participation on a large scale does in fact strike a chord.

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